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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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30 January 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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DACIAN THEORY ON TRANSYLVANIAN HISTORY THREATENS BILATERAL RELATIONS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Dec 83 p 19

[Article by Gyorgy Szaraz, writer, historian: "About Transylvania's Past at the Present Time"]

[Text] Fruitful socialist coexistence of the Hungarian and Romanian peoples, of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Romanian Socialist Republic, is in the interest of both peoples and of the entire socialist camp. Through extremist interpretations of Transylvania's present and past, nationalisms in both Hungary and Romania want to prevent specifically such coexistence that is based on sensible mutual interest. We cannot yield to any such intentions: against both nationalisms we are lining up arguments based on science, facts and the Marxist approach to history. To give our readers an insight into the workshop where this is being done, we are publishing a portion of a longer essay that Gyorgy Szaraz is now writing.

Dacia was the last province that Rome annexed, and the first one it was forced to abandon. The emperor Aurelianus ordered its evacuation in the year 270: the legions, and with them the population, resettled on the right bank of the Danube, in Moesia.

But was it the entire population?

Hardly. Even after a wartime evacuation warranted by the threat of a catastrophe, there were people who remained and hid, out of foolish stubbornness or desperate attachment, fearfully and hopefully.

Practically all the colonists, the "Romanized," certainly left. For them Pax Romana must have meant not only their lives, but also something more: the only feasible way of life. But the slaves, the rural "natives" whose not so distant ancestors had emerged from the deep woods on the column of Traianus, were unlikely to have left, unless forced to go. They were the ones who perhaps hoped to find their liberators and brothers in the approaching northern barbarians.

But they could not have been "Romanized." Even then 164 years could not have been long enough for the masses living far from the towns to change their

language. And let us not forget that the world changed more slowly in ancient times, and the memory of a generation was longer.

There followed 500 years of the period of great migrations.

A huge wave swept through the Transylvanian basin, southeastward from the Baltic to the Black Sea, the wave of the Goths. Next, across this wave, a smaller one strong enough to flood only the northeastern region: the Antae, the fore-runners of the Slavs. Then newer waves in the stormy sea of peoples, this time headed west: the Gepids and the Vandals. They were struck and overrun by an enormous tidal wave that approached with lightning speed and then suddenly disintegrated: the Huns. Thereafter the storm seemed to abate, and in rapid succession there came smaller waves: the Slavic tribes heading south. Then another, suddenly cresting huge wave, that of the Avars heading west and sweeping the Alföld [Great Hungarian Plain], but only fragments of its spray reached the Transylvanian basin.

And finally the last wave, the Hungarians.

We know that they were not meek conquerors, and that in Pannonia they conquered not only fragments of the Avar, Gepid and Slavic ethnic groups, but also the principality of Privina south of Lake Balaton, and the northeast area that belonged to the Moravian kingdom.

And it is certain that they swept away also a few small, early-feudal state formations east of the Tisza.

The issue, however, is still confused.

Let us return briefly to the Daci. Or more accurately, to the question of the Romanian people's origin.

There are several old and more recent theories. According to one theory, the ancestors of the Romanians were an Italian pastoral tribe that migrated from the province of Romagna to the western Balkans in the 7th and 8th centuries, where it assimilated Albanian and Slavic elements but retained its language and grew into a larger ethnic group, which was swept by the Byzantine-Bulgarian wars to the left bank of the Danube. According to another theory, however, the "ancient Romanian" people originated in the Balkans, from the fusion of Illyrian and Thracian tribes; during the 600 years of Roman rule, it gradually adopted the Latin language and subsequently, after assimilating Slavic ethnic elements, assumed its final character. However, its Albanian kinfolk have retained their ancient language to this day.

According to the third and best-known theory, the Daci living in Transylvania were subdued by Rome; their fusion with the Latin colonists produced the ancient Romanian people that remained in Dacia even after the legions' withdrawal but sought refuge in the mountains from the storms of the great migrations, preserving thus its character and separate language. Later this ancient Romanian people adopted Byzantine Christianity, and its Dacian-Latin culture amalgamated elements of early Slavic feudalism. Thus its final evolution occurred

in the 7th to 9th centuries. Its cradle was the capital of Burebista's one-time kingdom, from where its individual groups later swarmed to areas south and east of the Carpathians.

The theory itself--its rejection or acceptance--is a matter strictly for historians. On this occasion I am interested merely in the emphasis that is placed, varying with time, on rejection or acceptance. Or if you wish, in the "historicity" of this issue's forced political content.

The "awakening of nations" in this region occurred more or less at the same time: the process in the course of which the Hungarians, struggling against Habsburg rule, not only discovered their "glorious ancestors" but traced them back to king Attila, the scourge of God, started toward the end of the 18th century. About the same time the Transylvanian school of Romanian historians began to arouse the national awareness of the Romanians, deprived of rights even as a nationality. What these historians were demanding were cultural and political rights equal to those of the Hungarian and Saxon nations. What they wanted to prove was that the Romanians had arrived before the Hun-Magyar barbarians coming from Asia, and that the former had a more glorious past and a higher culture than the latter. Therefore the "Transylvanian school" did not pay much attention to the Daci and did not want to have anything to do with them, in the same way as the Hungarians repudiated the "fish-smelling" Finno-Ugrian relationship. In "Supplex Libellus Valachorum" the historians of this school contend: "The Vlachs are the oldest of the nations now inhabiting Transylvania because they originated from the colonies of Roman veterans whom the emperor Traianus repeatedly settled in large numbers in Dacia itself at the beginning of the 2d century . . ."

Let us add that the "pure Latin origin" also served as a shield against the "Slavic peril" that appeared mostly in the guise of religion.

Later, when Moldavia and Walachia were beginning to cast off the Turkish yoke, and when the idea of independence or of unifying the Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians began to gain acceptance among the Romanians of Transylvania, awareness of Roman origin was not only unscientific, but also inadequate. The Daco-Romanian theory offered continuity reaching back farther in time, spread the claim to continuity over a wider area, up to the borders of Burebista's one-time kingdom, and in addition it also avoided the necessarily accepted odium of Dacian genocide. Incidentally, Dacian origin also meant that the Romanians were the descendants not of a province's colonial population recruited from various places, but of a people capable of forming a state, an independent state that had existed even before the Roman conquest.

When certain Romanian historians--Hasdeu, and later Ion Bogdan--opposed the "Latin school" in the second half of the 19th century, they emphasized the Slavic influences on the Romanian people's evolution. This is understandable if we recall that then the Greek Orthodox Russian empire played the role of the liberator of the Balkans from the enslaving Turks. This trend was revived for a time during the period of personality cult when historians emphasized and overemphasized the otherwise true contention that "the Slavic migration is very important for it influenced to a large extent Romania's development."

Incidentally, the political changes were always reflected in the standpoints of the bourgeois historians. Before World War I and for a time thereafter,



the Latin component was the dominant: "the smallest Latin sister" attached importance to her friendship with France and Italy. Later the theory of "purely Thracian origin" became the dominant. It was warranted not only by the alliance with Germany, but also by Antonescu's aspirations: the Thracians in their time had ruled entire southeastern Europe, including the commercial centers on the Black Sea and the south Russian plain.

Of course, the hypothesis of the Romanians' Italian origin appealed to Hungarian nationalism, but it cherished even more the "amalgamated Draco-Illyrian-Slavic people of Balkan origin" theory, naturally in the sense of countercontinuity. The arguments listed against Daco-Romanian origin were not only based on scientific considerations, but were also politically motivated: the absence of Thracian names in Dacian inscriptions; and the absence of any mention of the "Vlachs" in western chronicles and early documents, but their frequent mention in Byzantine reports on the Balkans. For the Romanian historians it was a political argument that Anonymus lists the "Blak" people among the original population that the Hungarians found here at the time of the conquest. And the Hungarian counterargument that the author of "Gesta Hungarorum" projects the conditions of his time to the past period likewise was political.

A grotesque outgrowth of this political warfare is the debate over the origin of two of Transylvania's ethnic groups: the Szekelys and the Transylvanian Romanians. Undeniably, both ethnic groups have certain characteristics that distinguish them, respectively, from the Hungarian and the Romanian population. This is why, according to some Romanian authors, the Szekelys are "magyarized Romanians," whereas the Hungarian assumptions hold them to be Hun and Avarian descendants, a Bulgarian-Turkish-Khazar ethnic subgroup, a Hungarian tribe that split off and arrived late, or frontier guards recruited from among the outcasts of the tribes. And, in the same manner, some Hungarian researchers regard the Transylvanian Romanians of the ore mountains as "Romanianized Szekelys," whereas the Romanian view is that they are "descendants of Roman miners."

And what about voivode Gelu?

According to Anonymus, he was a "Blak" prince who reigned in the "land beyond the forest" but fell in battle with the Hungarian conquerors. The Hungarian view holds that this is the Turkic rendering of the name of a Hungarian tribe's leader, Djelu instead of Gyalu, preserved in Gyalu-var, a place-name in Transylvania; Anonymus simply converted this place-name into the name of a person and made him a prince fighting against the Hungarians, so as to embellish also in this manner the military exploits of the conquest. According to an earlier Romanian view--supported by finds from a Slavic cemetery that was uncovered near Gyula and dates back to about the year 800--Gelu was "the prince of the Romanians and Slavs," and his principality was the continuation of an initially Slavic political formation, the rule over which gradually passed into the hands of the Romanian element. Subsequently this view was modified in the sense that Gelu had been the lord of a Romanian "duchy" whose Slavic element had consisted merely of colonists infiltrating from the west.

Who could voivode Gelu or Djelu have been?

An interesting question, but not a political one.

Anonymus speaks not only of Gelu. He mentions also Glad, the leader who ruled the territory of today's Banat; the Temes valley chieftaincies; and Menu-morut, the lord of the Koros region who withstood the Hungarians' siege in the fortress of Bihar.

Is all this true or merely the chronicler's invention? In a certain sense it is all the same.

It is a historical fact that Slavs and Romanians lived together. A Russian chronicle from 898 mentions Vlachs and Slavs living together "beyond the mountain," i.e., south of the Russian plain. Why should it be absurd that in Transylvania, just as elsewhere, Slavic and Vlach ethnic groups were living together, in chieftaincies organized on the Slavic model?

And what happens if this was not so?

I accept as a possible exaggeration the view of German bourgeois historians --Engel, Roesler and others--that the entire population moved out of Dacia with the legions. Just as I accept with suspicion Xenopol's contention that the Romanianized Daci moved to the mountains and survived intact the storms of the period of great migrations.

We wonder what the truth is.

Probably what seems reasonable. What conforms to the logic of history, of man's world.

That there really are no "original inhabitants," just as there are no eternal migrants and never have been. That every settled people migrated at one time, and that migrants passed through history as one-time or future settlers. That nomads and residents were conquerors and conquered, and that they fused and separated. That settled ethnic groups often drifted, voluntarily or under compulsion, with the passing migrants, and that swarms separating from the migrants settled among the "original inhabitants."

And this only means that history itself is real continuity: motion, change and variability.

I could quote the Hungarian historian who early this century said of the Romanians: "This people, basically pastoral by inclination, truly became farmers after assimilating Hungarian elements." And I could quote also the Romanian political writer from the same period who, envying us our aristocracy, wrote: "At the time of Saint Stephen, the originally wild and brutal Hungarians assimilated noble elements from the mass of Romanians; this is why Hungarian aristocrats have such a dignified bearing, with their noble features, graceful movements, beautiful eyes and colorful dress."

Behind the conflicting standpoints there are always two "big" questions: Who was here first? And who is better? These questions never really had anything to do with science. Behind them there has always lurked a sort of primitive bias. And, I might add, in an anachronistic manner.

The special legal status of Transylvania evolved very early in the medieval state; and there developed also the three bodies politic that for centuries were the basis of political organization: the county nobles, and the privileged Szekely and Saxon "nations."

In 1211, Andrew II granted the Barca area, between the Szekelys and the Saxons, to the Teutonic Knights, enjoining them to settle the area and to guard the frontier. But because the Teutonic Knights soon attempted to free themselves from under the Hungarian king's sovereignty, they were driven out already in 1225 and their land was given to the Saxons. Two years earlier, Andrew II had granted the Teutonic Knights, for the purpose of conversion, the territory of Cumania, which subsequently became Walachia. His diploma is the first to mention Romanians living in Transylvania, in the Fogaras area.

In his work on the history of the Saxons, entitled "Siebenburgen, ein abend-laendisches Schicksal" (Transylvania, a Western Destiny), the West German writer Hermann Pabst, a Transylvanian Saxon by birth, writes that the Hungarians, "a Mongolian race," penetrated the Danubian basin around the year 900 and, "mixing there with the Germans, Slavs and Cumanians," acquired with time a "European aspect." This author, too, seems to be a slave to some extent of the "we were there first" complex. He correctly states that the Saxons were invited to settle in Transylvania between 1141 and 1161, but he contends that the Romanians settled in Transylvania at the time of Louis the Great, when their voivode, Vajk, assumed the title of "prince of the new Fogaras settlement."

Pabst treats a distinctly political event as an item of demographic information. In 1369 Louis the Great did not invite Romanian settlers to the Fogaras area. Instead, he gave that area and its inhabitants--both the Romanians and the Saxons--to his vassal, the voivode of Walachia, who from then on called himself "Vlaicu, by the grace of God and of the Hungarian king the voivode of Walachia, ban [warden] of Szoreny and prince of Fogaras." (The Romanian princes continued to receive Fogaras as their feudality, to link them to the Hungarian king also in this manner, and to provide a refuge for them in case of an invasion by the Turks.)

Coming from Cumania in groups of various size, the Romanians settled in the royal counties. Until the 14th century they lived under their own chieftains, with royal permission and privileges, and were obliged to provide a certain number of soldiers. Documents toward the end of the Arpad dynasty mention several such chieftaincies: in the vicinity of Fogaras, Deva and Hunyad, around Kovar, and in Zarand and Feher counties. It was again Louis the Great who sealed the fate of the Romanian common people: in 1365 he attached the peasants to their landowners and placed them under the jurisdiction of the nobility, whereby the counties of the nobility replaced the fading royal counties. Neither the Hungarian nor the Romanian serf was included in the concept of "nation of the nobility." The chieftaincies ceased in the 15th and 16th centuries; the leading stratum was assimilated into the nobility; and the commoners sank to the level of serfs.



From then on Transylvania became a land of inner turmoil. And the Romanians, oppressed in more ways than one (in their nationality and also in their religion), were always there in the uprisings, with or without the Hungarian serfs. But when we examine these movements, the uprisings that flared up from time to time, it is worth bearing in mind Nicolae Iorga's admonition in his 1932 essay "Against Enmity Between Peoples". He wrote: "The national differences, about which so much is being said today, meant nothing at all in the Middle Ages. We cannot speak of Hungarian victors as Hungarians, and of Romanian vanquished as Romanians. Anyone who believes that enmity has lived on since then between these two peoples, and hopes to find justification for the historical circumstances in this manner, is foolish."

But the two Romanian principalities that evolved in the 14th century also had a very strong influence on the future of Transylvania.

Before discussing this influence in greater detail, however, it will be worth pondering something else. For a long time there has been a loud war of words in the Danube basin between the apostles of Transylvania's population being, respectively, "through and through Hungarian" and "racially pure Romanian."

And yet one does not have to dig too deeply into the facts to come up with some "surprising" findings. To wit, that in terms of their "bloodline" and "racial composition" the two peoples do not differ so much after all. What we have in mind is not merely the fact that both the Hungarians and the Romanians assimilated considerable Slavic and German elements, but also the question of whether the "Scythian" Hungarians or the "Daco-Roman" Romanians received a transfusion of more "Turanian" blood. For of the Pechenegs who had settled in the 10th century in what is now Moldavia, only a portion fled to Hungarian-occupied land, and the rest fused into the Romanian mass. But the same fate befell also their pursuers, the Cumanians. A quick glance at the map will suffice. In Hungary: Kunszentmiklos, Kunmadaras, Tazlar, and so on. In Romania: Comanesti, Comana, Teleorman, etc. And Iasi perpetuates the memory of the Jazygians, just as Jaszbereny does in Hungary. But very many of the place-names even on the other side of the Carpathians indicate very old ties: Ungureni, Magheresti, Secuieni, Farcasele, and so on.

According to Romanian legend, the Transylvanian chieftain Dragos was hunting bison in the Carpathians, in the course of which he discovered Moldavia and emigrated there with his people; hence the bison's head in the principality's coat of arms. Actually Dragos was the first Moldavian voivode. And the historical basis of the legend is that Dragos, leading an army that started out from Transylvania, occupied in the name of Louis the Great the province that was being plagued by the Tatars, and ruled there as a vassal of the Hungarian king. But already in 1359, Bogdan I attempted to gain independence.

This was a troubled and long drawn-out period for the young principalities. There was an internecine war of succession in Moldavia; the pretenders swore fealty once to the Polish king and then to the Hungarian king, but they actually wanted to be independent of both feudal lords. Walachia found a firm voivode in the person of Mircea the Old. He, too, hesitated between an alliance with the Poles or the Hungarians. Meanwhile he fought successfully against the Bulgarians, until he was confronted by the forces of Sultan Bajazid.

Along the lower Danube this was the first appearance of Turkish power that was to prove so fatal for the future of the young Balkan states.

In 1396 Mircea fought on the side of king Sigismund against the sultan; after defeat, he was the first Romanian voivode forced to recognize Turkish sovereignty. The first Turkish army broke through the Carpathian passes in 1420, and from then on also Transylvania was in a state of constant military preparedness. Meanwhile Moldavia was enjoying relative peace under the reign of Alexander the Good. His successors, however, started the internecine struggle anew, and in 1435 the country split into two.

In Walachia the successors of Mircea were murdering one another, and a number of voivodes in quick succession were helped to power now by the Hungarians, then by the Turks, until in 1431 Vlad Dracul gained the throne of the principality. He recognized Sigismund as his sovereign. But then the Turks proved the stronger, and Vlad Dracul joined with his troops the Turkish army ravaging the southern part of Transylvania.

Meanwhile in Transylvania the seed sown by Louis the Great in 1365 became fully ripe.

The first great peasant uprising broke out, that of Antal Budai Nagy's "Hussites." Hungarian and Romanian peasants fought against their noble masters who in the end were forced to make concessions: from then on the serfs could meet once a year, present their complaints, and call to account the despotic landowners. This was nothing less than recognition of the Hungarian and Romanian peasant masses as the "fourth nation."

However, this proved too much for the privileged Szekelys and Saxons, and a "brotherly union of the three nations" was formed, for mutual protection, against anyone. The peasantry again took up arms but was defeated, and all the hopes of the "fourth nation" turned to ashes in the reprisals of 1438. This union or Unio Trium Natorum resulted in that the three privileged groups began to administer the affairs of Transylvania with ever-greater independence until at times only a hairsbreadth separated the province from real independence; but this also perpetuated for centuries more the complete exclusion of the Romanian masses.

That same year the Turks again appeared in Transylvania. After the ravage, they took with them in fetters 70,000 slaves. This was already the overture to the expansionist campaigns.

HUNGARIAN EDITOR RIDICULES ROMANIAN'S THESIS

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 4 Dec 83 p 5

[Editorial by Sandor Fekete, deputy editor in chief of UJ TUKOR: "Ghosts"]

[Text] In an editorial published in the 11 November issue of UTUNK appearing in Kolozsvar [Cluj], a certain Mircea Pop writes in part: "The love of peace and a desire to build are a constant component of the Romanian people's mentality. The Romanians have never been an expansionist people that subjugated and oppressed other peoples, and they resorted to war only in extremely vital periods when their national existence was at stake. In other words, these were defensive wars or wars of liberation, and they were waged only when the people and its leaders felt they had no choice but to stand their ground." Hence it follows, continues the author, that when "those who embodied the nation's spirit and soul" announced 65 years ago the union of Transylvania with Romania, they immediately took a stand against war "as a means of regulating international relations"; and this is how Romania (he is talking about the kingdom of Romania here!--S.F.) became "a champion of peace."

I am not familiar with Mircea Pop's lifework, and I am not very versed in the Romanian language. But I have already read in translation several Romanian expositions similar to his. Therefore I cannot regard his line of reasoning as the isolated and negligible opinion of a private individual and am compelled to ponder these unusual hypotheses.

First of all Mircea Pop's contention that a harmonious relationship existed between the Romanian "people and its leaders" even under serfdom and in the period of capitalist rule. While other peoples were often led into unjust wars by "villians cursed even in their graves," such deplorable events never happened to the Romanian people. According to Mircea Pop, this people waged only just wars.

Is thus Romanian history a fresh ray of hope in mankind's so hopeless history, which has been and is replete with senseless, unjust and horrible wars? "As long as the world is so rabid" as today, we could do with such an encouraging example. Although I find history intriguing, I also tend to be skeptical and therefore have some doubts. I wonder why "the people and its leaders" thought "they had no choice but to stand their ground" when Marshal Antonescu's troops attacked the Soviet Union, and why specifically on Adolf Hitler's side? We

Hungarians reject today Horthy's lamentably despicable servilism, foolish miscalculations and shameful war crimes. But Romania, according to Mircea Pop, is "a champion of peace" and has always waged just wars. Therefore I wonder what Antonescu's troops were doing at Stalingrad and in the Crimea. Were they defending Bucharest there, or were these regions, too, ancient Romanian territory that they wanted to liberate?

But let us say no more about the Romanian-Soviet war and the fascist Antonescu. Mircea Pop obviously could explain what the champions of peace were doing among the auxiliary forces of the Nazis. Incidentally, it might turn out that Antonescu was executed unjustly as a war criminal, or perhaps one day the marshal might even be glorified as a great tragic Romanian patriot, in a historical novel by an author sharing Mircea Pop's views.

On this occasion I am more interested in another war, the one that--to use Mircea Pop's own words--the Romanian "people and its leaders" launched a few months after "those who embodied the nation's spirit and soul" announced in Gyulafehérvár [Alba Julia] in 1918 that love of peace was one of the "basic principles" on which the "new Romanian state was founded."

Well, the for us rather memorable fact that in 1919 the troops of the Romanian kingdom marched against the Hungarian Soviet Republic, on an encouraging nod from the imperialists and to their great delight, was an entirely peculiar practical implementation of the principle of loving peace and "eliminating" war.

In his message to the leaders of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary, Lenin wrote: "You are fighting a war. An entirely legitimate, just and revolutionary war. A war of the oppressed against the oppressors. A war of the workers against the exploiters. You are fighting for the victory of socialism. Everything that is decent in the working class worldwide is on your side."

May we ask who was right? Lenin, who supported the Hungarian proletarian revolution, or Ferdinand's boyars who were the enemies of socialism and ready to commit aggression? I do not like to use someone's prestige as an argument. Lenin was mistaken on several important issues. Did he perhaps misjudge also the Hungarian revolution? Instead of citing a Russian revolutionary, therefore, I will refer to Romanian revolutionaries. For at that time there were also progressive Romanians, in Ploesti, Iasi and Bucharest, who helped the Hungarian Soviet Republic with expressions of support. Well, with whom does Mircea Pop side? With the progressive Romanian workers of 1919, or with king Ferdinand's war criminals?

It is possible, of course, that Mircea Pop dismisses with a wave of his hand also the Romanian internationalists of 1919. If the cause of socialism is not decisive and the sole main consideration is Romanian national interest, then was not this interest better served by Ferdinand and Bratianu than by the striking Romanian workers? This leaves only one question in my mind: If, according to Mircea Pop, the Romanians in the course of their history waged only defensive wars or wars of liberation, which alternative were they practicing



in 1919? The defensive one? Even in Budapest, by helping Horthy's executioners to power, were they still defending their own country? Or should their war be classified as a war of liberation? This is perhaps the more likely. For it is indisputable that they liberated the poor barons, counts and other poor big landowners whose land had been confiscated, and also the oppressed poor Hungarian capitalists, from the "red terror." In the international dictionary of socialism, however, the name of this "war of liberation" is counter-revolutionary war.

Mircea Pop quotes an old writing by Agarbiceanu which states that "in addition to national justice, also social justice must prevail." Wise words. One can agree even with Mircea Pop when he reiterates that the conception of nationality "will never become an obstacle to human society's development, unless it changes into chauvinism." But I am obliged to add that the possibility of becoming chauvinistic is not restricted to a nationality; chauvinism can rear its ugly head even among the influential circles of a national majority. By fabricating a Romanian history that never existed and disregarding basic facts and principles, also Mircea Pop's article is supporting this trend.

But there are indelible facts, and also principles that socialists cannot deny. It is easy to create moods, and far more difficult to control unleashed passions. If today it is possible to praise indirectly, through parables, the intervention against the Hungarian Soviet Republic, then tomorrow it might be possible to glorify directly and openly the counterrevolutionaries attacking the dictatorship of the proletariat. If today it is possible to defend with implied slogans the fascist Antonescu's war, then tomorrow it might be possible to deny the struggle of historical importance by the antifascist heroes of the Tudor Vladimirescu division, and the chauvinists might conjure haunting ghosts which could have fatal consequences.

Mircea Pop and others of like mind must realize that we cannot remain mute extras in the danger-fraught chauvinist drama of rewriting history. We cannot base on the falsification of history the important cause of our peoples' present and future friendship. Nor do we want to prolong the polemics, in the very interest of this common cause. It is not the aim of any responsible Hungarian intellectual to rehash without reason certain sad episodes from the history of the Hungarian and Romanian peoples, and to rip open old wounds. The past does have its debatable questions. In our opinion, however, it will be useful to analyze and clarify these questions neither on the pages of UJ TUKOR and UTUNK, nor in the mass media and at public meetings, but in the professional literature. As a cultural weekly, we on our part would like to continue what we have undertaken to do so far: to present the epochal deeds of Vladimirescu and Balcescu, the classical values of Brancusi, Sadoveanu and others; and, instead of unfortunate disputes, to contribute toward the much-desired cooperation of our peoples by propagating literature and art that are Romanian or originate in Romania.

ZHIVKOV CONGRATULATES MINISTER SAKAREV FOR STATE AWARD

Sofia STROITEL in Bulgarian 7 Dec 83 p 1

[Ukase No 3676 of State Council of Bulgarian People's Republic, signed in Sofia on 1 December 1983 by Chairman of State Council T. Zhivkov and Secretary of State Council N. Manolov, awarding Order of the Bulgarian People's Republic-First Class to Minister of Construction and Architecture Ivan Sakarev on his 50th birthday; ukase accompanied by a letter from Zhivkov to Sakarev]

[Text] On 3 December 1983 Minister of Construction and Architecture Prof Ivan Sakarev was 50 years old. On this occasion the Order of the Bulgarian People's Republic-First Class was conferred upon him. Ivan Sakarev received a letter from the general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, Todor Zhivkov

Ukase No. 3676

The State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic on the basis of article 93, section 23, of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic hereby decrees that the Order of the Bulgarian People's Republic-First Class shall be conferred upon Comrade Ivan Khristov Sakarev for his active participation in the building of socialism and on the occasion of his 50th birthday anniversary.

To Ivan Sakarev

Comrade Sakarev,

I am delighted to congratulate you heartily on the occasion of the conferral upon you of the Order of the Bulgarian People's Republic-First Class and on your 50th birthday anniversary.

A true son of the party and people, you have grown--in the literal sense of the word--to be one of the outstanding builders of a new socialist Bulgaria.

Of course, along with the modern new factories, palaces of culture and sports, new housing units and especially beautiful administrative buildings and along with the renewed cities and villages in which our country takes pride, here and there, if not everywhere in our beloved fatherland, there are some panel-built, semipanel-built and other houses which are not fit for people to live in



or look at. Some of these, if not all, instead of outlasting us are aging more rapidly than we are. It is a good thing that we hardly age, as is the case with you, because for a minister 50 is still a youthful age. Congratulations! May you in decades to come still feel as young and energetic in the profession of building--a creative, noble and very often thankless profession.

For you and your family, dear Sakarev, my sincere wish is that you have health and happiness always, and to the collective that you head up I wish new successes!

Congratulations!

T. Zhivkov  
2 December 1983

Minister Prof Ivan Sakarev was congratulated by party and state leaders, by representatives of ministries, central departments, social and political organizations, by party, trade-union, economic and Komsomol bodies and organizations, and workforces of the construction sector and others.

The Central Committee of the Trade Union of Workers in Construction and the Construction Industry also sent greetings to Minister Prof Ivan Sakarev.

The staff of the newspaper STROITEL [Builder] most heartily congratulates the hero of the anniversary on his 50th birthday and wishes him health, good cheer and further successes in his highly important work.

Thanks

Minister Prof Ivan Sakarev expresses his hearty thanks to the party and state leaders, to the ministries, central departments, social and political bodies and organizations of the construction sector and to all who sent greetings on the occasion of his 50th birthday anniversary.

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CSO: 2200/58

CITIZENSHIP STATUS OF BULGARIANS RESIDING PERMANENTLY ABROAD

Sofia RODOLYUBIE in Bulgarian No 11, 1983 pp 3, 4

[Article by Vasil Gotsev: "Modifications of Passport Regulations for Bulgarian Citizens Residing Permanently Abroad"; ref. JPRS 84097 of 11 August 1983]

[Text] In issue No. 50, dated 28 June 1983, of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK [Official Gazette] of the Bulgarian People's Republic were published a change in and addition to the Regulations on Enforcement of the Law on Foreign Passports, promulgated in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK No. 92/1973. The change brought about alleviations and reduced the formalities for issuing and broadening the validity of Bulgarian citizens' foreign passports not only in cases of temporary sojourn but also in cases of permanent residence abroad. This is no doubt of interest to our readers.

The Law on Bulgarian Citizenship (DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No. 79 of 11 October 1968, amended in No. 36/1979) decrees that a Bulgarian citizen may not acquire or retain foreign citizenship prior to his release from Bulgarian citizenship under the conditions that it established. Only the Bulgarian citizen who is not of Bulgarian nationality loses his Bulgarian citizenship when he emigrates from the country ipso facto by his emigration. Therefore, Bulgarian citizens of Bulgarian nationality, who for one reason or another are residing permanently abroad and who have not been released from Bulgarian citizenship, continue to be Bulgarian citizens from the viewpoint of the laws of the Bulgarian People's Republic. This is so even if, despite the prohibitions of the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship, they have acquired foreign citizenship. The foreign citizenship they have received is of no normative significance for the Bulgarian People's Republic. Such citizens are obliged on entering the country to be in possession of a Bulgarian passport, and on departing to comply with the regulations established by the Law on Foreign Passports and the Regulations for its Enforcement, as is any other Bulgarian citizen.

The change of 28 June 1983 in the Regulations establishes a number of alleviations in this regard for Bulgarian citizens residing permanently abroad. It takes into account the fact that permanent residence abroad has created for them an economic and social commitment to their place of sojourn and that it is a vital necessity for them to visit their homeland, their friends and relatives living there and the places with which one has been associated since early childhood. Therefore the Bulgarian state desires that no barriers of a

formal character should exist for any of its citizens who have established permanent residence abroad, provided that they have shown no evidence of hostility to it.

According to the new changes, the usual foreign passports may be issued to a Bulgarian citizen residing permanently abroad who has demonstrated by his conduct a loyal attitude towards the Bulgarian People's Republic, and to his children as well, if they left the country before the end of 1981 or have been residing abroad by reason of a mixed marriage for 5 years since it was contracted. The passport shall be issued, as a rule, for all countries for which the citizen requests it unless there are considerations precluding the inclusion of some of them. It is to be stamped so as to make clear that the bearer is a permanent resident of a specific foreign country, which is to be indicated. He is to establish his identity with this passport when he is in Bulgaria, without being issued an individual internal passport.

A foreign passport shall be supplied by the diplomatic or, as the case may be, the consular representation of the Bulgarian People's Republic where the request is made. The latter may extend the term of issued passports up to 5 years, as well as broaden their validity for other countries. When Bulgarian citizens residing permanently in socialist countries are concerned, the validity of the passport can be broadened unless this conflicts with the passport regulations of the country in question.

Bulgarian citizens residing permanently abroad who possess a Bulgarian foreign passport may visit the Bulgarian People's Republic freely and at all times, and stay there as long as they desire without any entry restrictions or formalities. The presentation of the Bulgarian foreign passport to the border authorities suffices. The procedure for entering the country is no different for them than for Bulgarian citizens who have left temporarily with usual foreign passports.

On departing from the Bulgarian People's Republic for nonsocialist countries, Bulgarian citizens possessing foreign passports as permanent residents abroad must obtain an exit visa from the passport service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Under article 16 of the Regulations on Changes in and Additions to the Regulations on Enforcement of the Law on Foreign Passports, it shall be issued with no formalities whatsoever within 24 hours.

When the Bulgarian citizen residing permanently abroad is deprived or relieved of Bulgarian citizenship, his foreign passport shall cease to be valid. It is to be sent to the Foreign Passport Section of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The new regulations that have been established in order to provide Bulgarian citizens permanently resident abroad with Bulgarian foreign passports with which they can visit and leave the country without hindrance, at all times and as often as they like, creates obvious alleviations for them. The ordinance is prompted by the desire that these Bulgarian should keep in contact with their homeland and by the realization that their years of residence outside it have created economic and other personal reasons compelling them to

continue to reside outside the country. However, their retention of Bulgarian citizenship and a Bulgarian foreign passport creates definite advantages. They will enjoy all the rights of Bulgarian citizens in our country, as well as the protection which it gives its citizens abroad. At the same time, they can continue their way of life abroad, retaining all the rights which their Bulgarian citizenship gives them.

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CSO: 2200/59

LETTERS FROM BULGARIAN EXPATRIATES

Sofia RODOLYUBIE in Bulgarian No 11, 1983 p 2

[Letters to the editors of RODOLYUBIE]

[Excerpts] Dear Sirs,

Permit me with this letter to express my heartfelt thanks and gratitude for the warm reception and great consideration shown us by the Committee for Bulgarians Abroad during our businessmen's meeting in Plovdiv and our stay in our beautiful and unforgettable homeland of Bulgaria!

Since our return to the countries where we live, we have hardly been able to find words to tell our friends and acquaintances, our relatives and compatriots about everything we had the opportunity of seeing, about the great progress and high standard of living achieved in so few and such difficult years for everybody, about the Bulgaria for which we are always longing and of which we can only recite the unforgettable lines, "Land that gave me such, accept my homage!"

We Bulgarians living abroad extend our hand to our compatriots from Bulgaria so that we may face the future more steadfastly and spread throughout the world the Bulgarian name and culture and the spirit of our traditions. This new unity of ours, I am sure, will bear fruit in both the near and long term.

Yours ever,

Vutyu Koralski  
Argentina

P. S. I am sending you an article about the statement I made to the Argentinian newspaper LA GACETA on my return from Bulgaria.

Dear Sirs,

I have just returned to Sao Paulo from Europe and I still have fresh, indelible and beautiful impressions of the homeland. I would like with these lines to express my sincere gratitude for your generous hospitality during our stay in Bulgaria and to congratulate you once more on your successful initiative in organizing a meeting with Bulgarian business men residing abroad.

I am touched and extremely excited by the progress of the homeland. I am confident that our meeting and dialogue will be a cornerstone of present and future associations, of new business contacts and of still greater opportunities in economic, commercial and cultural relations between our fatherland and the countries where we have established residence.

Best wishes.

Eduard Khugasyan  
Sao Paulo, Brazil

Dear Editors,

In 1965 I married a Sofia woman. Through my wife's sister we have for many years received the magazine SLAVYANI [Slavs], now RODOLYUBIE [Love of Country]. Naturally, every summer since 1965 we have come to Bulgaria. This is due to my wife. At least once a year people should see their relatives and friends. Besides this, Bulgaria is not so far away. During all these years I have made over 1000 color slides, from which I have selected the best and put them together in four talks accompanied by slide projections. I began to give these talks back in 1969 before various institutes and to many German audiences, which in this way had the opportunity to become acquainted with and come to love Bulgaria. I wanted thus to make my contribution to closer relations and understanding between the nations. I know for certain that many of those attending my talks have made stays in Bulgaria in order to make sure on the spot that it is indeed as pretty as I described it to them. When I met some of these people again later, they told me they were grateful they had followed my advice.

I should like on my next visit to Bulgaria to get from you hints and advice on natural beauty spots and historic landmarks that merit photographing and publicizing in Germany. Till then, I remain, with best regards and wishes to you,

Helmut Buschmann  
Bremerhafen, FRG

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CSO: 2200/59



CITIZENS' VIEWS SHOWN IN CHURCH SUPPORT OF PEACE MOVEMENT

Amsterdam DE TIJD in Dutch Vol 10 No 16, 16 Dec 83 pp 40-43

[Article by Ton Crijnen, assistant editor in chief: "How the East German Peace Movement Has Made the Government Increasingly Uneasy"]

[Text] Relations between church and state have not improved lately in the GDR. The direct cause: the threatened stationing of Soviet missiles on East German territory as a reaction to the NATO dual decision. The evangelical churches are opposed; the regime is in favor, of course. A growing independent peace movement shows where the sympathies of the population lie. "The nuclear holocaust is coming a step closer again." A look at a fearful workers' paradise.

"For us, Christians, the creation of mutual trust between nations is the most important key toward a decrease of tensions in the world. We see that trust, combined with the willingness to take unilateral one-sided (disarmament) steps, as the only possibility for preserving peace. We base this conviction on the New Testament, in particular on the teaching of Jesus Christ." (From a letter of the East German Evangelical-Lutheran community in Dresden-Loschwitz to State Chairman and Party Leader Erich Honecker, 22 October 1983).

The German Democratic Republic is in an awkward position. Now that the placing of new medium range missiles in Western Europe is becoming a fact and the Geneva disarmament debate seems to be halted for the time being, the Soviet Union has announced that it, in turn and in "close consultation with its fellow socialist states," will station missiles in the GDR and Czechoslovakia.

For the GDR this means an additional burden over its already strained national budget. "But," according to Premier Willi Stoph in the Volkskammer (Peoples Chamber) last week, "the population understands that the steps forced upon us by the imperialists are inevitable for the defense of peace."

That sounds brave and dramatic, but there is good reason to wonder if it is true. He who personally listens to people in the GDR hears something completely different (except in official circles). The well-known dissident writer Stefan Heym, who has good contacts, described the mood to me as follows:

"If one is to believe the authorities here, every Soviet missile is equipped with angels' wings and surrounded by a halo, but the man in the street has a very different opinion. He couldn't care less whether the nuclear weapon which will reduce him to ashes is American or Soviet; he is simply scared and extremely worried that with the stationing of missiles on our territory the nuclear holocaust is coming a little step closer again."

#### Frank Writing

The East German leaders, who themselves are not terribly anxious either to have Soviet missiles in their back yard, are very well aware of the mood of the population. Therefore they give people the opportunity to let off steam now and then in order to prevent tensions from rising too much, for the revolt of 1953 is still a real bogey here.

Some of those things probably form the main reason why the above-mentioned letter from a protestant community in Dresden was allowed to be printed in the official party publication and, at that, in a prominent place. It is a unique event in GDR thinking, certainly in view of the frank tone of the document: "The fact that we and our children have to live in the direct vicinity of nuclear weapons fills us with horror."

The letter preceded pronouncements by the regional sinodes of the evangelic churches in Mecklenburg and Thuringen, respectively at the end of last month and the beginning of this month. In them, the placing of Soviet missiles in the GDR was rejected outright because "it does not increase our security but only increases the chance for nuclear catastrophe."

The protestant church leaders in the GDR had already made it known at a joint meeting last March that they supported the proposal of the independent Palmei Commission for a nuclear arms-free zone in Central Europe of 150 km on both sides of the border between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

#### Enemy Image

The East German regime nevertheless is making attempts to alleviate fear in the population and to prepare it psychologically for the coming stationing of missiles. Thus at the beginning of this year PIONIERLEITER [Pioneer Leader], the official publication of the national youth organization for boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 14 (2 million members), announced that the military training of "pioneers" of over 10 years of age would be increased.

They would be trained in self-defense and they would be taught to be active "in strengthening and protecting the GDR," the latter including the operating of tanks at a distance. The principal objective: to acquire discipline and increase self-confidence.

No wonder that the January number of DER SONNTAG, the largest publication of the evangelical churches in the GDR, with a circulation of 40,000 copies, had to be recalled and corrected. The reason was a child's poem in which the desire was expressed that wars and armies were part of the past. That was not allowed.

The Evangelical-Lutheran churches, officially comprising 8 of the 17 million East Germans, not only resisted the increased military character of the youth movement, but also the "enemy image" which is being spread everywhere. A good example of that was given by the magazine ARMEERUNDSCHAU [Army Review]. "Hatred against the imperialist enemy--why should that be objectionable and have a repulsive effect? Isn't it born out of love for our socialist fatherland? Hate relieves. Hate creates justice. Hate ennobles."

#### A Peace State

"Create enemy images? We're only explaining to our youths who is responsible for the continually increasing armaments: not the Soviet Union or the GDR. And how do we explain it? By teaching them that a politically, economically and militarily safe socialism is the best guarantee for peace. They must know what they are for and what they are against."

Joachim Bruckner is not the doubting type. As deputy head he works in the department of international affairs of the Freie Deutsche Jugend [Free German Youth], the national organization for young people between the ages of 14 and 30. The FDJ, founded by Honecker in 1946, is a gigantic movement with its 2.3 million members with branches in the entire country and with its own parliamentary group in the Volkskammer.

Bruckner: "Young peoples' concern for the preservation of world peace is universal, but in the West youths who exert themselves for peace inevitably get into conflict with their government. Not here. That is the big difference, and that's what we point out to our boys and girls. Yes, indeed. If you call that an enemy image. ."

Mr Wehmann of the Service for Foreign Representation in the GDR had warned me. During a luncheon in the International Press Center in the Mohrenstreet in the heart of East Berlin he suddenly said: "Of course we cannot stop you, but we would find it extremely impolite if an official guest were to have discussions with the man in the street." A series of more or less coincidental encounters with GDR citizens in private homes, bars, or just along the road made it clear why.

Painter (33): "The militarization of our state is an undeniable fact which has been greatly increasing lately. When I was young, it was not so bothersome. Now it already starts in kindergarten, is continued in grade school and is completed during high school."

Housewife (32): "My two children of 8 and 9 are already learning that 'since we want peace, we have to act in a disciplined manner.' I think that is dreadful. My mother says it reminds her of the Hitler Youth. I cannot judge that, but the fact is that children in the GDR are continually being fed an anti-West view. Anything that comes from the West is by definition hostile."

Author (70): "I have read schoolbooks in which the ballistic flight path of artillery fire was treated as a math assignment."

Kindergarten teacher (42): "In your country, parents sometimes buy toy guns or tanks for their children, but I don't know of any Western country where nursery schools purchase this kind of trash in order to acquaint children with arms and shooting right from childhood. That is very normal here."

Navy Officer (29): "That nonsense about the evil, imperialist West and the brave, peace-loving GDR! I think neither one of us wants war. I don't, in any event. Surely you don't think that I joined the navy in order to shoot? No, indeed . . . Say, do you know that I really am supposed to report this discussion with you to my superior?"

Christine Wieynk, besides being a member of parliament, is also a board member of the GDR Peace Council. She says dead-seriously: "In contrast with the Federal Republic of Germany, our country is a peace nation. We do everything to educate people in the spirit of peace; it permeates our entire society."

We are talking in the building of the council on the Clara Zetkin street, not far from The Wall. Established in 1949, all the political parties and social mass organizations of the GDR are represented in the Peace Council. With numerous branches in the country and abroad, it furnishes the regime with a handy alibi to claim the peace monopoly for itself and the other East bloc states.

/Frieden muss bewaffnet sein;/ peace must be armed--who has a different idea on that in the GDR soon runs the risk of being labeled an "imperialist counter-revolutionary." For in this country there is room only for the official peace movement. It strives for disarmament in the West and in doing so meets all peace requirements in the eyes of the authorities.

Christine Wieynk appears to agree completely. On a question about the independent, mostly protestant-oriented peace groups which have been active in the GDR during the past 2 years, she answers caustically: "I don't understand what those people want; their individual actions are completely superfluous" and "the churches should not think that they have invented the peace movement. That was done 'coincidentally' by others and happened much earlier."

Goose-step

Professor Dr Gerhard Bassarak, professor of ecumenics at the East Berlin Humboldt University, looks at matters somewhat differently. This evangelical theologian is also vice chairman of the Christian Peace Conference, an international protestant peace movement with headquarters in Prague. Established at the beginning of 1958, the Peace Conference has lost much of its moral authority since August 1968.

Bassarak: "The pacifist groups within the evangelical churches reflect a need which is obviously not covered by the official Peace Council. It is a form of uneasiness; the intentions are good and honest, however. Therefore the state should not isolate these unofficial peace groups, but try to establish contact with them.

"Yes, I can imagine that you find it difficult to visually reconcile the 'Wehrmacht' uniforms and goose-step of our soldiers with the peace involvement the GDR has committed itself to and the sincerity which I do not doubt for a moment. Viewed psychologically, I find them an unfortunate choice, but they are concessions to an older generation. They don't say anything about the intentions of the military apparatus; those are 100 percent anti-fascist."



## Government is Wide Awake

Hermann Kalb (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union] is deputy state secretary for religious affairs--an important post in the GDR. Kalb, a friendly person of about 50, who does not let down his guard for a moment, however, receives the visitor from the Netherlands ("interesting area") hospitably. After coffee with cognac is served, he says: "We have no objection at all to the evangelical churches striving for peace." Smiling: "Why should we?"

"Only, the problem is that within the church there are forces which are trying to turn it into a political movement. And then the government suddenly is wide awake. You should not forget that there is no such thing as /the/ evangelical church; within it there are different, often opposing, currents. The attitudes of the various regional churches toward the socialist state are rather varied. Hence our distrust.

"Take all that to-do about /Schwerter zu Pflugscharen/ [Swords into Ploughshares]; for most of those 'pacifist' boys and girls the issue was not peace--they only wanted to undermine the good relations between church and state and force the evangelical churches into the role of opposition party. We cannot tolerate that, of course, as a government. Even less when you see how greedily the Western media blow up something like that.

"For that matter, they were mainly youths who had actually nothing to do with the church. In Berlin they had drinking bouts in a church, sang inciting songs, smoked and necked. We contacted the national church leadership about it, and they showed understanding for our concern."

## Somewhat Harsh Action

"Then why does the church protect the activists? It does it from pastoral considerations. Moreover, a minority of those so-called peace activists sincerely think that they can bring peace closer more rapidly and unilaterally with their activities. They don't realize that something like that only increases the threat of nuclear war since it would mean a disturbance of the balance of power.

"I admit: in some cases perhaps we have acted somewhat harshly, but that comes from concern that the developments might expand. The church said 'have patience;' however, as a state you carry your own, much greater responsibility. Anyway, it does not constitute a real danger. I estimate that the entire 'alternative' peace movement comprises no more than 5000 youths.

"Within the socialist camp, the GDR is the only state which offers the opportunity to comply with compulsory service without arms, as a construction soldier. All right; very few boys make use of it, but it is still a far-reaching accommodation. Therefore we are able to tackle that small group of radicals."

The Church of the Savior in Berlin-Lichtenberg is found open. It is Saturday night and only a few lights are on. Tomorrow there will be one of the blues-services, which in our country have been old hat for a long time already but are highly revolutionary in the GDR. A few boys and girls are putting the finishing touches on an anti-war exhibition; a somewhat older woman is dusting the pulpit.

With the aid of pictures, graphs and figures, the insanity of war violence is shown in the entrance hall. Their own position has not been neglected: /Frieden schaffen ohne Waffen/, create peace without arms. Hermann Kalb's claim that there is not much enthusiasm for alternative compulsory service is thoroughly contradicted here.

In the fall of 1982 there were 2000 applications, despite the fact that the government does not publicize the possibility of alternative service much. He who wants to make use of it, for that matter, is taking a chance of running into problems in his work or study environment. He who wants to be a construction soldier as a reservist may as well forget it.

An increasing number of youths actually think that the alternative possibilities don't amount to much. They point out that the only difference between construction soldiers and ordinary soldiers lies in the fact that the former don't have to shoot. Some youths therefore demand a real alternative for fulfilling their compulsory service, preferably in the social area.

### Berlin Appeal

The Reverend Rainer Eppelmann is warding off the cold with vigorous arm movement. "The initiation of an independent peace movement was a very drastic experience for our churches. It has filled the gap which existed for many years between the church leadership and the members. One should not present matters more favorably than they are, but I still believe that the worst is over for us."

Later, at home, Eppelmann says: "The church is the only organization which speaks its own mind in this republic so permeated by the greed of consumption and bourgeois ideas. Just as in your country, the youths here are awakening. Many are searching for the meaning of life and a considerable number find the church on their path. The peace theme has worked as a catalyst in that respect."

Eppelmann is a well-known but also controversial figure within the alternative peace circuit. At the beginning of last year he, together with 34 other East Germans, published the so-called /Berlin Appeal/, an open letter which pleaded, amongst other things, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops (thus also the Soviet troops) from both Germanies and for a nuclear arms-free Europe.

The authorities saw that as a provocation and arrested the young preacher. Thanks to the mediation of religious leaders he was released two days later. For that matter, the evangelical church emphatically disassociated itself from the appeal. However, Eppelmann was again detained for a short period this year after he had participated in the attempt to form a human chain from the American to the Soviet Embassy on World Peace Day (1 September).

Eppelmann: "Our government leaders are stuck between the Soviets and their own unloved children; between those two fears they are running around in panic." He smiles and then says: "People like you are my most trustworthy insurance policy. As long as I am getting attention from the West, they won't do anything to me."



## Swords into Ploughshares

It all started so innocently. Encouraged by Honecker's conciliatory conversation with Bishop Schonherr, the then chairman of the Evangelical Federation of Churches, on 6 March 1978--at which the former had praised the churches for their world peace week--peace conferences, peace praying weeks and praying decades sprouted from the ground like mushrooms in the months afterward.

In this atmosphere the idea of the peace sticker also arose: a replica of the Soviet peace symbol which adorns the entrance to the United Nations building in New York, printed on a felt background, surrounded by the words /Schwerter zu Pflugscharen/, a reference to the text in the Old Testament: "And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks" (Micah 4.3).

However, after an open letter had started to circulate in May 1981 to all evangelical churches, in which the church was summoned to bring about social compulsory service for conscientious objectors, the regime became nervous--especially when the letter was signed by 5,000 youths. A peace forum organized in Dresden by the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Saksen also drew thousands of people. They heard about the open criticism to armament both in the East and West (February 1982).

## Strength from Weakness

For the regime, plagued also by the Berlin Appeal, that was the last straw. In March 1983 State Secretary for Religious Affairs Gysi informed the bishops that the peace problem no longer could be pursued in public. He also warned them about "terrorist elements." The evangelical churches obeyed and tried to keep their adherents under control.

When 14 peace activists from Jena were sent over the border to the FRG this summer, the church kept silent. Last month it organized its annual 10-day peace event under the significant slogan: Create Peace from the Strength of the Weak. For the rest, the church leadership was rather caustic again at its national sinode in Potsdam in September.

Church Chairman Eberhard Natho resignedly lets all criticism pass over him. He is at the head of the small evangelical church province Anhalt (200,000 members) on the Maagdenburg-Leipzig line and has played an important role in "normalizing" relations between church and state which now seem to be worsening again. Honecker's demonstrative absence from the final religious celebration of the Luther Year, last month in Eisleben, is proof of that.

Natho: "We church leaders have a double problem. On the one hand we cannot convince the government that those youths do not harbor any counter-revolutionary plans but merely want peace. On the other hand, we are unable to make it clear to many youths, including preachers and youth leaders, that we only have a limited influence."

"The situation in Poland plays a principal role of course. If Swords into Ploughshares had arisen in 1979, no one would have become so excited about it. But when we spoke with the state secretary in March 1982, calm debate was no longer possible. The GDR still is not self-assured enough to simply shrug its shoulders about it.

"Every time I try to convince the local head of the /Stasi/ (security police) of the need to do otherwise, he says: 'Why do you continuously want to talk me into gullibility?' Do you see?"

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CS0: 3614/22

POLAND

PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Kielce Province Friendship Campaign

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 15 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (jch): "Friendship Documented by Facts"]

[Text] The 14th provincial reporting and election conference of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society [TPPR] was held yesterday in the NOT [Chief Technical Organization] hall in Kielce. The participants included the delegates from the province and the invited guests: chairman of the TPPR Main Board, Stanislaw Wronski; secretary of the USSR Consulate in Krakow, Aleksander Smirnow; vice chairman of the TPPR Main Board, member of the Council of State, Jozef Ozga-Michalski; representatives of the provincial authorities: first secretary of the provincial committee of the PZPR, Maciej Lubczynski; secretary of the provincial committee of the ZSL, Andrzej Lato; secretary of the provincial committee of the SD, Zbigniew Porebski; chairman of the Provincial People's Council, Ryszard Zbrog; and Governor Wlodzimierz Pasternak.

Distinguished activists were decorated. Julia Wojciechanowska, a retired teacher from Kielce, received a Cavalier's Cross of the Rebirth of Poland, while others were decorated with gold and silver crosses of merit, badges "For Contributions to the Kielce Region," and gold TPPR honor badges. A delegation of conference participants laid a wreath in the Soviet Soldiers' Cemetery on Koniew Street, and at the monument to the Fighters for National and Social Liberation in Kadzielnia.

Yesterday's conference summarized the most difficult period during the existence of the society, a term of 5 years. Until 1980, the TPPR did not encounter difficulties; its activities were filled by a broad range of undertakings and functions popularizing the achievements, history and culture of the USSR and the Polish-Soviet relations. The mistakes committed

in our social and economic policies have been used in the past several years for an antisocialist and an anti-Soviet campaign directed also against our alliances. Attacks on the friendship and relations with the Soviet Union causes the departure of many members from the TPPR. A decrease in the level of activity of the society also took place. Despite these difficulties, a significant part of the local chapters in the province maintained a continuity of work and realized, though on a smaller scale, their programmatic tasks. Anniversary celebrations as well as contests of reciting Russian and Soviet poetry and prose, singing competitions, Russian language olympiads, and other such competitions were taking place.

From this political turmoil the TPPR emerged weakened numerically, but more resilient. It did find enough strength to defend the ideals of Polish-Soviet friendship. In his speech, the chairman of the provincial board of the TPPR, Wladyslaw Figarski, said: "Today, after many years, the idea of friendship finds new confirmation also in the struggle for stabilization in our country. During the most difficult weeks of the Polish crisis, subjected to restrictions imposed by the Western countries and by the USA, when some factories were threatened with standing still, we received from our Soviet comrades aid to fit our national existence. Once again, the ideas of friendship spoke with concrete acts which could be felt by every Pole, by every Polish family."

The first secretary of the provincial committee, Marek Lubczynski, said in his speech: "Friendship cannot be programmed, it has to be born in the hearts and consciousness of people in order for them to mold a future together. Despite the threats to the world peace, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union is a guarantee of our peaceful life."

Ryszard Mazur, Janina Glowacka, Henryk Borowiec, Jerzy Gondecki, Jerzy Gora, Antoni Sadok, Szymon Lado, and Taduesz Cegla also participated in the discussion. One of the discussants, Jozef Poswiat, proposed a draft of a resolution which was adopted by the participants of the conference. This document reads in part: "We are fulfilling the will of over 6,000,000 Polish victims of Hitlerism, among them over half a million inhabitants of the Kielce region, who fell in the struggle with fascism. That is why we express our full solidarity and support for the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, Poland and of the entire family of socialist countries, a policy which aims to maintain world peace."

Texts of letters of greetings to be sent to the first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine of the Winnice region and to the chairman of the Main Board of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society in Moscow were also adopted. Participating in the deliberations, Stanislaw Wronski stated in part that the TPPR has undertaken a great mission, which was to popularize the truth about the Polish-Soviet relations. Doubts of opponents have to be answered with historical facts and concrete arguments.

New authorities were elected during the conference, as were delegates to the 11th TPPR National Convention. Curator Wladyslaw Figurski was re-elected chairman of the provincial board of the TPPR in Kielce, and Leonid Blejder was chosen secretary.

## Party Reports-Elections Campaign

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 15 Nov 83 pp 1,2

[Article: "Authority Measured by Work"]

[Text] Local PZPR election and reporting conferences are already taking place in many workplaces in Radom and Kielce Provinces. The conferences evaluate and summarize the accomplishments of their echelons and the attitudes and behavior of party members. They also discuss the most important problems of the individual enterprises and formulate programs of action for the next two years. We present reports of journalists from these meetings:

### A Critical Look

Despite the fact that the meetings of department and basic party organizations [OOP and POP] are still in progress, the electoral and reporting campaign in Radom Province is slowly entering the second stage. The stage of conferences in the workplaces was inaugurated at the meeting in the Repair and Construction Works of the Cement, Lime and Gypsum Industry in Wierzbice. Sixty-five previously elected candidates summarized the expiring term of office. The discussion was dominated by criticism. The report of the outgoing executive board was negatively evaluated.

Wladyslaw Adamiec, a worker, stated that one cannot be satisfied with the statement that only those who had joined the party for their own careers were leaving it. In fact, many good workers left as well. What is missing in the report is an analysis of this phenomenon or at least an attempt to elucidate its causes. Without doubt there were many such causes, but I believe that the retiring first secretary has to be held responsible. He did not go among people, did not talk to them or explain worrisome problems, and if he did do so, he did this badly and was unconvincing.

Also others from among the 17 discussants directed their critical remarks to the executive board, chastizing it for minimal activity. There were references to the lack of a broad and honest intraparty information. According to the discussants, the knowledge and the form of communication of the lecturers of the Central Committee and the provincial committee of the PZPR still leaves much to be desired. Economic topics were not ignored either. The greatest amount of attention was devoted to the difficulties facing the KRB PCWiG employees who live in the Eastern settlement in Szydlowiec.

The entire 8-hour long dispute had a similarly critical tone. The resolution adopted as its result has a character of a general outline. The newly elected executive board was instructed to prepare a detailed program of action. Thus, the newly elected secretary, foreman Tadeusz Nowak, and his comrades will have a lot of work. Everybody expects that thanks to their work, the difficulties facing the present party organization will be overcome.



## Difficulties of Polcorfam

The summary of the expiring term of office was completed by 19 basic party organizations in the largest party organization in Pionki, the Pronit Plastic Materials Factory. The members concentrated their attention primarily on the problems of their factory. There were expressions of concern about the raw materials and technological material difficulties, which do not allow the factory to maintain a fully rhythmic production. Attention was also given to the ailments of internal transport: even if there are cars, their tires, batteries, or starters are missing. The broken vehicles wait for spare parts, while an increasingly larger number of workers is being involved in transport work. Since there are labor shortages, there is a question as to who should be employed in transport.

Much attention was also devoted to the problems of the economic reform, its functioning and mechanisms. It was emphasized unequivocally that the new system of management, tied to the evaluation of the expertise and predispositions of the management cadres, has to fulfill the role of a specific verification process.

Party groups in Pronit have to play a larger role in the activities of the factory party organization than has been the case in the past. Thus there is a need to activate them, to broaden their influence on those whose activism until now has been expressed only in the possession of a party card.

During the reporting and election meetings, 6 of the 19 basic party organizations in Pronit chose new secretaries of basic party organizations.

## Examples Attract

There are 310 workers in the Lubna Sugar Works in Kazimierza Wielka. Among them there are 86 members of the factory party organization. The members met at a reporting and election conference whose participants also include secretary of the PZPR provincial committee in Kielce, Jaroslaw Motyka, and the first secretary of the KMiG [city-gmina committee] in Kazimierza Wielka, Jan Kasiak.

This year the sugar campaign is proceeding without disturbances. Beets are being efficiently accepted from the farmers and the beet pulp is delivered on time. More than half of the plan of sugar production has already been completed. This is due to the improvement of the discipline of work and to good cooperation with the raw material services in the region.

Members of the party organization offer a good example by their involvement in the problems of the factory and of the work force. During the party meetings much attention was devoted to the problems of work discipline. On the initiative of party members, young workers in the plan were raising their professional qualifications. The young people united in the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] circle received much help from the party organization. There was also a discussion of the principles of implementation

and the functioning of the economic reform in the sugar works. The participants received information about the political and social situation in the gmina and the province. In the program for the coming months, the members of the party organization set themselves ambitious goals. They will strive to improve the quality of the sugar they produce; they will direct the ideological work of the young people from the ZSMP, and they will participate in the further improvement of the social conditions of the work force. They will also join in the works of the cooperative constructing single family homes which is being created in the factory.

#### Campaign Begins with Self

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 16 Nov 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ryszard Klimaszewski]

[Text] This report from the reporting and elections meeting of the party organization could begin with an emphasis on its organizational and political-ideological premises, that is, the necessity of analyzing the realization of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, of the provincial and city echelons and of the tasks indicated by the organization itself. Is this reminder necessary, however, in a situation where the goals of the meetings had already been discussed during special deliberations and precisely defined in the guiding principles of the Politburo of the Central Committee?

The person chairing the meeting in the Tanning Factory in Bialystok also made use of these guiding principles. Referring to them every once in a while he attempted to suggest a subject of discussion for his comrades unwilling to participate in the discussion. It is worthwhile, he encouraged, to speak about the trade union or about the links between the organization and the work force, or about training...

Unfortunately, it was only the information offered by the director, Henryk Wawer, about the situation in the plant that was able to stimulate an exchange of opinions. This discussion, however, contained more complaints than actual evaluations of one's own work, and of failings and responsibilities, of the role and tasks of the organization in the area of production and of the sociopolitical problematics.

#### From the Point of View of an Observer

Already before the beginning, I feared that the meeting might be mediocre. It was enough to look around and see the rather tired faces of those assembled and to browse through a very abbreviated report of the executive board to realize that things are not too well with party activism in this factory, which is, after all, important for the situation on the market. It is true that during its term of office, the organization held 12 meetings

during which were discussed such important problems as the role of the basic party organization in the current sociopolitical situation, the declaration "What are we fighting for, where are we heading," a project of the factory anti-inflation plan and of the conservation plans, as well as the issues of production. Nevertheless, it is a fact, as First Secretary Ryszard Puczynski has himself acknowledged, that meetings were not held regularly (sometimes several months divided on meeting from another), that the attendance was low and discussion limited.

The report of the retiring executive board contained the following statement: "The evaluation of the current political activity of our organization is a rather difficult matter... There are among us comrades who actively participated in discussions and openly presented their arguments in wider forums, but the majority of comrades did not demonstrate such activism."

Such activism or no activism at all? It seems that there was no activism at all, as one can read further in the report. Most of the members of the very small organization of only 31 members (including 8 retirees) are simply passive, indifferent, hiding their heads in the sand when one has to counter erroneous theories. Can one count on such comrades? In the report presented to the executive board there is a list of three comrades who stated that they did not want to belong to the organization, which is why they did not pay their dues.

If this is so, then the unavoidable conclusion is that talks should have been held with these comrades to learn the motives of their behavior and to decide on their membership in the party. It is astonishing that one of these comrades, a worker valued for his high professional qualifications, was present at the meeting. His statement during the discussion made it clear that the difficult problems of the factory were not a matter of indifference to him.

I believe that the insufficient work of the executive board influenced the weaknesses of the party organization. Secretary Puczynski admitted that until the present, cooperation with self-management was conducted on loosely defined principles, that there is no party evaluation of the control of the delegation of the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] in the area of the implementation of the government program of modernization and of raw materials economy; that the ideological training has not been undertaken, and that the ZSMP is not active at all, that a trade union has not been organized...

In a word, there is only stagnation. Thus, I expected that during the discussion comrades would take a critical attitude towards this negligence. I expected them to point to the causes of this disquieting state of affairs and that they would offer suggestions, propositions and comments on what should be done to put the party organization back on its feet. But nobody said a word about intraparty, organizational and ideological matters. The entire discussion focused on the situation in the factory, which, if it does not improve, may lead to bankruptcy.

## In the Face of Bankruptcy

The discussion was initiated by Comrade Henryk Wawer, who was recently chosen in a contest for the director. He recalls the difficult period of shortages of raw materials needed for production and the actions undertaken by the government designed to restart the tanning and leather industry. Today there are no significant problems with the supply of raw materials, which is reflected in the production during the three quarters of this year of over 887,000 square meters of leather. This is 2.5 percent more than was predicted in the plan and 22 percent more than the production during the previous year.

These and other data cited by the speaker indicate that the factory has high productivity and that the earnings are good, 30 percent higher than during the previous year. And it would be good, if it were not so bad.

But the situation is catastrophic, since instead of sales and profits there are reserves and, after 3 months, losses of 3,800,000 zlotys. In the factory in Krynki there are goods for which there is no buyer. Last year, someone complains, everything was sold, and this year, when the shoe and clothing industries were saturated, the demand for quality was stiffened.

Since not everybody understands the essence of the problem, the director remarks that the factory had made some profits but has lost them because the net production was not completed. He repeats that the loss of 31,000,000 resulted from the failure to sell goods of lower quality.

The second reason for the bad situation, he adds, is the change from contractual to regulated prices. As you know, comrades, the costs of processing are low in our factory, which, with 10 percent profits, limits our financial possibilities, especially since there was a rise in the costs of transport, bank services, repairs.

The head bookkeeper, Eugeniusz Jaszczuk, supplements the explanations of the director. He informs about the amounts taken for FAZ, about the turnover tax of 85 percent on clothing leather, which has to be paid even before the clients settle the accounts, about the financially unprofitable work on free Saturdays (the work is paid double, but in the accounting for FAZ one can subtract only the excess in comparison with the previous year) and about other consequences of the lack of integration of the elements of the reform.

There are questions: how can we solve pressing problems when, of the profits of 100,000,000 zlotys from last year, only 19,000,000 are left? And a cog for a wringer costs 300,000. How can the quality be improved if both the bank and the ministry agree on the urgent need to build a boiler room, but the first is not willing to offer a loan and the second does not give tax reductions? How are we to prepare for the coming year if until today we do not know under what principles we will be working?

Comrades Wieslaw Pietruszczuk, Romand Furla and Ignacy Karpacz take part in the discussion. They speak about the difficult working conditions on the



exploited machines, which are continually breaking down. It is difficult to repair them in view of the lack of spare parts. Thus, many machines from the second payments zone are standing still.

Can the program of restoring health to the factory economy be realistically realized in this situation? The discussants express their doubts. The program was worked out for the fourth quarter, but this is the middle of November and nothing indicates that things are getting better. The prospect for things to improve can be created only by the decisions of the bank, of the ministry, of the association. The discussion indicates that for the reform to work better there must be greater coherence between the financial policy and the practice of the factory.

The meeting ends, though unfortunately not in the best of atmospheres. It is not yet known how the future of the factory is going to look. And yet, the idea of the reform--as is confirmed by the facts, and at least in the high increase of productivity--finds a concrete expression in the attitudes of the workers.

It is obvious that the ministry and the bank should look more closely into the problems of the Bialystok Tanning Factory. This should be done not from a formal but from a practical point of view, in the context of the conditions of the hard work of tanners. This was justifiedly pointed out by the comrades.

But the point is also that the causes of failure should not be searched for only on the outside. It is necessary, and this was not done during the meeting, to take a more critical look at one's own backyard. This is presented for the attention of the new executive board with wishes that it will be able to break up the passivity in its own and in our interest.

#### Party Self-Criticism

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 16 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by: Marek Heyza: "Party Matters: Self-critically"]

[Text] Before noon, at the reporting and election conference of the plant party organization in the Kujawy Cement and Lime Works [KCW] in Bielawy, which had begun in the morning, much time was devoted to the speeches by the director of the factory, the head of the trade unions, the chairman of the plant board of the ZSMP, of the former chairman of the social commission... Time was also spent on elections. Perhaps, according to the comrades from Kujawy, all these speeches were necessary, but I had expected that the party conference would deal with issues which directly concern the situation of the PZPR in the factory. From the report on the last 2.5-year term of office it was clear that there are things to discuss. But my fears were not confirmed, these problems were taken up, though not during the plenary meeting, but in the forum of the group for intraparty affairs, one of three groups nominated by the conference.



The size of the party organization in the factory has significantly decreased during the last term of office, as 162 comrades left the party. The report of the plant committee generally describes the causes of these unfavorable changes. The document, however, does not unequivocally show the link between these changes and the style of party work in the factory and attitudes of some members of the PZPR even though they must have had a negative influence. It was good, therefore, that the person summarizing the term of office of the plant committee did not remain indifferent towards these negative phenomena: he pointed them out and made an attempt to specify the causes of the weaknesses. This was later examined more thoroughly by the group for intraparty affairs.

The majority of OOP's ascertained, not without reason, that the lack of discipline among some comrades and the unsatisfactory character of meetings constitute problems which have to be solved. Although the reporting and election meeting had to be repeated only in the cement works, the attendance was not satisfactory also in the other cells of the party. Participation in meetings is a primary responsibility of the members, but its fulfillment is significantly influenced also by the part of the technological supervisors in the factory. In those OOP's where the director and the foreman feel that they are not only the economic managers but also responsible party members, the situation is better.

The lack of the required quorum makes it impossible to pass a resolution which would mobilize the organization to further activity. Unfortunately, many meetings did not end with the passing of resolutions and with voting on motions. Comrade Waldemar Dziarnowski wondered how to raise the attendance at the meetings. Obviously we must implement the resolutions of superior echelons, but we should also take up our own subjects, prepare ourselves well for the meetings, and conduct them equally well, and to inform about their occurrence sufficiently early. Individual talks should be conducted with those who are absent without justification, and, should this prove necessary, we must make decisions provided for in the statutes of the PZPR. According to comrade Marian Muszynski, the stimulation of activism through the assignment of individual tasks which members would have to account for is a condition of the good functioning of the party organization. This principle has to be generalized in the factory.

The unwillingness to raise sensitive issues from "one's own backyard" during the department meetings is a worrisome issue in the Kujawy KCW. Every monthly series of meetings was preceded during the past term of office by meetings of the first secretaries of OOP's. They discussed the current sociopolitical situation, the party activities common to the entire factory party organization, and the subjects of meetings which resulted from the resolutions of the plant committee. Unfortunately, no OOP went beyond the suggested problematics, though each is active in a different milieu, and faces specific problems. One might ask why some PZPR members demonstrate an unwillingness to take up problems concerning their comrades? Do they fear possible consequences if they are professionally subordinate to the criticized persons?...

The plant committee which was ending its term of office openly and honestly admitted that this is not favored because of "the memories of a bad tradition," and that even now the practice shows that there are comrades who do not react in a party-like manner to views different from their own. This is why an important task for the PZPR factory organization is the fight against cases of stifling the freedom of discussion. The problem has even greater significance because it is one of the conditions for the development of socialist democracy in an enterprise and an element of the political culture.

Sometimes, comrades receive laconic and curt answers to the motions and postulates they raise during the meetings. Comrade Henryk Bukowski asked whether it is surprising that the disregard for our suggestions discourages us from making them. Why does the management of the plant not answer the OOP when it asks such questions as what was the principle on which this and not that person waiting for an apartment had received one? Why, despite numerous repeated postulates, is there still a mess in Piechcin, where hooligan activities are increasing and yet our demands for a permanent stationing of an MO functionaionary in this area are not acted upon? (As a result of the personal interest in this issue of the secretary of the plant committee, Com Zenon Zmudzinski, Piechcin will have a police precinct beginning next year--M.H.) Why do our long-standing demands for a factory doctor remain unanswered? Is it not irritating that we are supporting a health service with social money, while a doctor has to be "bought" with an offer of a house, money, garden plot, and God knows what else?!

Thus the sources of comrades' discouragement are multiple. As one of the discussants argued, every OOP has to maintain a register of its motions and of the methods by which they were dealt with. If this method will not satisfy us, we must intervene in the plant committee, he claimed. The audit commission has to be obliged to control the realization of motions. This is its statutory responsibility, just as it is our responsibility to attend meetings. We have the responsibility, but in practice things look different...

Several discussants pointed out another weakness of party meetings: it is almost a rule that they change into production meetings. The postulates concerning the need for ideological training will be not worth anything if the subjects for ideological training will not be appropriately selected. It is necessary to differentiate this set of problems a little more, depending on the interests of the members rather than continuing to discuss the history of the workers' movement. In addition, training should take place separately, not "on the occasion of" the meeting, and it should not be torpid. Training should be conducted in an interesting manner by competent lecturers, example from the provincial committee.

Among other issues posed unequivocally by the comrades from the factory, we should mention the problem of consultations and of access to information. Comrade Jan Lewandowski said bitterly that while so much is being said about consultations, the practice of asking us before important decisions are made has been abandoned. They laugh at me at home: How is it, they say,

that they do not inform you in this party of yours? You did not know about the plans of returning to rationing? The role of OOP's will not increase if fast and current transfer of information from the top down and the other way around is not assured... Another comrade said, with disapproval, that the authority of OOP's will not increase if the award of a decoration of party honor is not even consulted with an OOP. And such a case occurred in our group...

Com Adam Puczkarski, chairing the meeting of the group for intraparty affairs, remarked that he is a worker, not a writer. Therefore, he asked that comrades who participated in the discussion help in the formulation of motions. This was not necessary. Comrade Puczkarski managed--they are readable. They contain lists of the weaknesses of the PZPR plant organization in the Kujawy KCW, but listening to the discussion and analyzing the report of the retiring plant committee I had an impression that they prove also that the party is regaining strength in the factory.

A self-critical attitude towards one's own activity is one of the manifestations of the renewal of intraparty life. This approach of the comrades from Kujawy KCW allows us to believe that they will be able to overcome the difficulties in the work of the PZPR organization.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Czestochowa Party Campaign Ending

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 1 Dec 83 p 4

[Article by (s): "The PZPR Campaign in Czestochowa Gminas is Coming to an End"]

[Text] /Reports-elections campaigns have already taken place in all the branch and basic party organizations (OOPs and POPs) in Czestochowa Province by 29 November, along with 36 conferences of plant party organizations and 41 conferences of city, city-gmina and gmina party organizations./ [printed in boldface]

Despite its rapid pace, the campaign is being prepared thoroughly. Reports are being drafted in an exhaustive manner and the programs of action specify the tasks for the coming new term of office. The attendance reaches 90 percent. The atmosphere of the deliberations, which promotes discussion, causes workers and peasants to be particularly active.

The principal topic of the party debate concerns intra-organizational and economic affairs. The most important task for the future is considered to be the strengthening of party ranks, chiefly owing to widespread ideological-educational work. The commitment of young party members and candidate members to active work should be a highly essential obligation in the immediate future. Mention is also being made of the need for a greater commitment of party members to trade-union activities as well as to elements of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

During the discussion the need for a critical assessment of the implementation of the conservation and anti-inflation programs was pointed out. It was stressed that concern should be primarily shown for improving the quality of finished products. The delegates at the plant, gmina [parish] and city conferences criticized instances of excessive self-enrichment of individuals, manifestations of social injustice. Reservations were made concerning the activities of the Social Security Administration, which is tardy in resolving cases of pensioners and annuitants.

The campaign promotes the influx of new party members. By mid-October of this year 226 candidate members had been accepted, while an additional 127 were accepted during the campaign.



During the meetings and conferences the comrades have been expressing concern about the preservation of peace in Europe and the world, about disarmament. At most of the conferences held so far the delegates voted resolutions supporting the disarmament initiatives of the USSR and other socialist states and condemning the militaristic strivings of the United States and NATO states.

### Party Reports-Elections Campaign

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 2 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Marek Ksiazek: "Don't Depend Solely on the Authorities" under the rubric "Reports-Elections Campaign Within the PZPR"]

[Text] Kozlowo is a farming gmina. The state enterprises operating there work directly or indirectly for agriculture. Thus, the activity of party members greatly influences the quantity, quality and cost of the food produced in the gmina. This topic, in addition to intra-party matters, dominated the reports-elections campaign.

A total of 84 delegates had arrived out of the 92 elected in all the basic party organizations (POPs). The attendance was good, and it is only a pity that not all the delegates had stayed until the conference's end, although they were provided with transportation. This may have been due to the long duration of the conference, which was not always optimally utilized. One of the discussants spoke for half an hour instead of the prescribed 15 minutes, and when ultimately urged to hurry up, summed up the whole of his comments in three terse conclusions. But this is no justification. There were too many important issues for leaving the auditorium before the singing of "The International."

Before this happened, the incumbent first secretary of the gmina party committee Michal Modlinski recalled in his report that the party organization in the gmina has a membership of 537, of whom 218 are workers and 180 farmers. Beside the POPs whose performance has been outstanding, such as the ones at the Combined Gmina School and in three work establishments (Mechanization and Chemicization Plant [ZMiCH], Agricultural Plant [ZR] and ZPR [expansion unknown]) in Kozlowo, as well as the rural POPs in Szkotowo, Browin, Niedanowo and a couple of other villages, there also exist some that are hardly active. Replacing the secretaries of the weaker party organizations should improve the situation.

Noteworthy is the practice of the joint solution of local problems by all the interested parties. This is what happened in the village of Krokowo where, following a reports-elections meeting of the local POP, a meeting with representatives of the economic and administrative units commented upon and criticized was organized. This also is what happened in Kozlowo, where, upon the proposal of the rural and school party organizations, a meeting was held between the parents and the gmina party committee secretary, on the one hand, and the management of the Olsztyn State Motor Transport (PKS), on the other, with the object of eliminating the problems in the transportation of youth to secondary schools in Nidzica. Similar meetings will be held in other villages.

Michal Modlinski emphasized: "In general, it can be stated that during the second half of the elapsing term of office the party organization displayed

greater autonomy as well as greater resoluteness in considering and solving political and socio-economic problems."

But the situation with ideological and propaganda work was not as good. If political training is to become more important in the future, a formula that would be both suitable to the audiences and fulfill its purpose has to be developed both within the Kozlowo party organization and elsewhere.

There would certainly have been no complaints about the relatively low level of knowledge of PZPR members had they undergone suitable earlier training in youth organizations. In Kozlowo, work with youth, and not just with the youth associated within the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, provides no grounds for satisfaction. But the party echelon is attempting to mobilize young people into the mainstream of societal life, because the problems of youth cannot be solved without its participation. This was mentioned by, among others, Janina Ducka, POP secretary at the Combined Gmina School (ZSG), who appealed to other organizations for active involvement in upbringing problems. She also proposed cooperation between schools and plant POPs as regards the upbringing of children and the so-called difficult youth.

The surmounting of problems in the school system, this time material ones, was discussed by the director of the ZSG, comrade Ryszard Kaczmarczyk. The basic party organizations initiated a proposal for building a preschool in Kozlowo and, with the aid of production plants, this idea was translated into reality. Repair of schools is conducted chiefly by the construction brigades of the local economic organizations. This is of a certainty better than constant complaining and sending grievances to the authorities. However, certain administrative barriers are difficult to overcome. This is exemplified by the planned construction of housing for employees of State Farms (PGR) and cultural and health services. The site is ready and the funds and materials are available: all that is needed is including this project in the investment plan, as the activists of Kozlowo are urging the authorities to do. It appears that they urge the authorities quite often, as evidenced by just one comment, that of Jan Przepiora, a delegate from the Mechanization and Chemicization Plant, who declared that he had mentioned the matter repeatedly and hopes that at this conference he was mentioning it for the last time.

Henryk Dzwonkowski, head of the Gmina Administration, discussed socio-economic problems. In Kozlowo the weaknesses of agriculture are still evident, but signs of improvement can also be observed. The number of farms transferred to young heirs has increased, more land has been sold to private farmers, and the procurements of grain and livestock have been better than expected. On the other hand, there is a shortage of tractors and other kinds of equipment needed by peasant farms, and more feedstuffs also could be used. The PGRs, which own 58 percent or 13,000 hectares of the farmland in the gmina, and which have been operating under the economic reform since July 1981, have since then markedly improved the efficiency of their management.

Agriculture and related affairs were the topics of discussion by: Malgorzata Sztumska, secretary of the Gmina Committee of the United Peasant Party (ZSL); Jerzy Popiolkowski, director of the Szkotowo PGR; Piotr Urban, farmer of Bartki; Jan Ducki, chief bookkeeper at the Cooperative Bank in Kozlowo; Tadeusz Nowak, farmer of Niedanowo; Jan Przepiora of the Mechanization and Chemicization Plant; and Kazimierz Czacharowski of the Department of

Agriculture and Food Management, Olsztyn Province Administration. The delegates and invited guests discussed the still occurring irregularities as well as flaws in the mechanisms of the reform and the need to expand the infrastructure of agriculture.

An interesting and constructive voice in the discussion was that of Jozef Dabek of Rogoze, who commented on intra-party matters. What should be done to spur the activism of PZPR members? On asking this question, he answered it to the effect that this can be accomplished by following consistently the principle of assigning party tasks, adopting resolutions (rather than just recommendations addressed to the gmina party echelon) that specify tasks for individual members, supporting the activities of the gmina party committee and studying thoroughly the documents of the central authorities of the PZPR. Once intra-party problems are resolved, other problems can be resolved more easily.

This position coincided with that of Adam Weselak, delegate from the POP at the Kozlowo Agricultural Plant and secretary of the Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee, who declared that the activism of certain party organizations is still too sporadic. On the whole, however, it is growing, particularly within plant POPs, and as for the exceptions, they do not reflect on the entire party. But the point is not just to criticize but also to make recommendations. In order to break out of the vicious circle of the crisis, one should not solely depend on the authorities. One should begin with himself, explore new better solutions at the grassroots level, as has been done at the Szkotowo PGR, where the party and trade-union organizations proposed releasing 2 hectares of poorer land for building single-family homes for the employees. Dialogue both among PZPR members and between these and non-party members is important, as is keeping higher party echelons posted about the feelings of the society.

A 27-member gmina party committee was elected at the conference along with the auditing commission and, for the first time, the party control commission. Those elected as delegates to the province reports-elections conference were: Adela Borkowska, farmer; Mieczyslaw Kosewski, farmer; Zdzislaw Kwiecien, director of the Kozlowo Agricultural Plant; and Adam Weselak, member of the POP at the Kozlowo Agricultural Plant. At its first meeting the gmina party committee re-elected its incumbent first secretary, Michal Modlinski.

#### Campaign Brings Benefit to Party, Town

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 2 Dec 83 pp 1,2

[A collection of articles under the combined title: "The Party Derives Its Strength From the Authority of Its Members"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] Secretary [by Magdalena Tomczak]:

/Karol Lisek is 73 years old and a pensioner. Some 15 days ago he had been re-elected to his third term of office as secretary of the party organization at a POP meeting in the Przytoczna Gmina Cooperative. He did not want to be a candidate and urged younger comrades to volunteer, but he consented after he was told: "Well,



comrade Lisek, don't use age as an excuse, because you scoot so fast on your bicycle that more than one young man can't catch up with you. Who can be a better leader than you?"

He was educated as an agronomist and has been living in Przytoczna for a very long time, so that he is equally familiar with the area, people and the problems of local agriculture. He always provides expert advice: as people say of him, he won't let himself be fooled or driven into a corner. He enjoys respect and authority and, when the need arises, quite a few people benefit from his experience, in party work also, because--as it turned out after thorough calculations--Karol Lisek has been, with brief interruptions, a party secretary for nearly 30 years. He had been a party secretary at the State Farm (PGR), a member of the powiat and village people's councils, and [a party secretary] at the agricultural combine and, more recently, at the Gmina Cooperative (GS).

He also had served as chairman of the people's council. At one time even he was simultaneously party secretary as well during the same term of office. /This village dictator/ smilingly recollects nowadays those times: "But for 3 years this was really so! And I must say," he adds after a while, "that I had even found this quite convenient. Why? Because, while, e.g. attending a session, under my right hand I had village affairs and under my left, party affairs, but on the whole they concerned the same thing--problems important to the gmina. Since the problems and the responsibility were the same, it could not be said that as a secretary I was depending on the people's council chairman and as a chairman on the party. There was no discussion. Try and explain that, brother, why it was this way and no other, and basta!

"Of course, I'm putting the matter somewhat anecdotically, because concentrating these two functions in one hand is neither necessary nor easy, because such an achievement requires trust by the people. Apparently I had that trust--(here I'm not being too modest, eh?)--since I was elected and not thrown out after 3 years....

"At the Gmina Cooperative, the workplace where I reached retirement age, I'm serving my third term of office as POP secretary. My activity in the POP enables me to maintain current, ongoing contact with people, with their problems, with every aspect of the cooperative's day-by-day life. Our party organization is small, consisting of barely 15 or so members, but it lacks any passive members who merely pay their dues. Each member has some task to fulfill whereby he not only promotes a more efficient operation of the Gmina Cooperative but also helps surmount any difficulty in the gmina and make life easier for all. One member, e.g. on behalf of the POP takes an interest in livestock procurements; another, in grain procurements; and another still meddles into the distribution of fertilizers. Now for example, this year the farmers did not have to wait longer than 2 or 3 days for the results of laboratory grading after they had delivered their grain (I personally see to it that the grading be performed in the laboratory, because visual grading can easily fatten the wallet of some and steal from others). To the farmers this means cash that can be collected immediately after the grading!"

Already at the first brief encounter with Karol Lisek, the impression he produces is that of a candid, straight-spoken, sincere man. It is not without reason that people say of him that he does not beat around the bush and, as a



result, he has rapport with others and, when the need arises, he can convince them.

He recollects: "During the period difficult to the party, 2 or 3 years ago, I focused my effort on preventing any 'split' both in the cooperative and in the party organization. One comrade, following the example of another, wanted to 'delete himself' from the party. I told him that no one had forced him to join the party and neither will any one keep him in it by force. By his behavior he was showing himself for what he was, so he should not be surprised if he were to get 'poor grades' for it! Later I encountered him prior to a party meeting and said: 'Come. You want to leave us. So come and say what you have to say, but also listen to what we have to reproach you with.' But he told me that he thought it over and decided to remain in the organization, and he added: 'So long as you, Pan Lisek, remain a member, I'll remain a member too....' He still is a member, an active one, and not at all because I'm also a member! I'll no longer be around (not only in the party), but he will remain--I'm absolutely convinced of this."

Karol Lisek—a social activist, a party activist, is by training a farmer, and hence the ills of our agriculture, and especially the food situation in which the entire country has recently found itself, concern him most--both as a party secretary and as an experienced man. In his talks with people, with farmers, he often points to the causes of the evil, while they--the practitioners, too, draw his attention to quite a few matters.

He asks, with concern showing in his voice: "How can it be good if, say, a farmer tilling 30 hectares procures a contract for 20 hectares of rape and shops in the store for bread, butter, bacon and lard? He raises neither chickens nor ducks, let alone a hog or a cow! Even so, he has no lack of meat, because he derives quite considerable income from his rape harvest and uses it to buy an entire hog from another, paying for it several thousand zlotys more than the regular price. He can afford it! Such persons who concentrate on cash-crop farming, without sharing much of their proceeds with the state--should be subjected to compulsory deliveries, and they should be made to pay prices much higher than procurement prices for hogs to hog raisers and for grain and potatoes to grain and potato farmers. Perhaps then it would pay them to stomp through manure in rubber boots and care for their own cattle or hogs?"

Karol Lisek has devoted more than 30 years of his life to active work in the party. Together with the party he has lived through many joys and miseries. /But he has never doubted, because he is convinced that the aims which the party had outlined for itself years ago are in all ways just, and that their implementation hinges, after all, on individuals who should, whatever their position or workstation, perform honestly and conscientiously the duties entrusted to them./

The Return [by Danuta Mystkowska]:

/Engineer Marian J. requests anonymity. He believes that too great a sensation has been created concerning him, that all this is still too recent and, in general, that nowadays there are many more people like him and he personally could name persons with like experiences./

/He said: "And besides, inflating this issue would place the party in a not too favorable situation. The party organization would look like a Belzebub rejoicing at every new soul gained."/

The secretary of the PZPR plant committee at a Zielona Gora factory thinks likewise. It was precisely during his previous term of office that the branch party organization (OOP) adopted that embarrassing decision.

The uninitiated claim that, two different sensations were caused: the first when the engineer surrendered his party card immediately after the martial law had been declared, and the second when, a few weeks ago he signed an application for party membership. Thus, after nearly 20 years of being a PZPR member, the engineer has again become a candidate member.

But as for that party card matter, it was not at all as the uninitiated imagine it. On 13 December Marian J. faced his local OOP. He was asked if he could cope with increased duties "if such arise," and questioned about his views. Toward the end, he was asked: "What about Solidarity? Marian, you must choose now--either Solidarity or the PZPR. You cannot belong to two parties."

To the engineer, Solidarity was till the end a trade union, although he was aware of deformations in its activity. Thus he did not want simply to resign from the trade union. He did not either resign from the party immediately after August [1980], despite urgings by friends. But there also were some who could turn their backs on the engineer and call him two-faced.

Marian J. commented: "But both in the trade union and in the party it was I who had toned down extremist positions."

When, during the meeting with Marian J., the executive board of the OOP demanded that he surrender his party card, he surrendered it somewhat painfully, hesitatingly. Today he says:

"Properly speaking, I could have regarded this as a party recommendation and resigned from Solidarity. But that, too, would not have been in accord with my conscience and convictions. I believe that at that time, in December [1981], the party became dominated by extreme-left elements which recommended a hard-line uncompromising position and choice: either--or. The possibility of having to draw back some time in the future had not been considered."

The engineer has no complaint about anyone. All the time he had been feeling a party member and he remains one, although since a few weeks his status has been that of a candidate member.

"I was deleted from the membership rolls, but I was [omission], felt close to the party and its problems. I'm behaving normally as if nothing had happened, and I think that such behavior is just. If it is possible to speak of patriotism for the PZPR, this exactly would be it. A party man cannot be exposed to loss of credibility and trust in his own organization. I think that it was then, in December, that emotions and fear of the unknown had predominated."

My interview with the engineer took place in the office of the chief of the plant party committee. Preparations for a plant conference were under way "backstage": in the midst of the bustle the engineer talked about himself, shared his reflections:

"I think that the crises in the party, and not only that, are traceable to the year 1948 when the merger of the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] and the PPR [Polish Workers Party] had taken place. I consider this possibility: what would happen if two leftist worker parties were to exist in Poland today? Then monitoring would be greater and control more effective, with the parties 'scrutinizing each other's hands,' and then perhaps the crisis would bypass our reality....Because the authorities become smug and cease to consider the society. This is demonstrated by the example of the 1970s and August."

Prior to his deletion from the party's rolls the engineer had been a member of the OOP for the factory administration. He believes that in such a factory there should be no organizations associating administrators alone, that the membership should be "mixed" and include direct production workers. The office worker should be closer to the blue-collar worker. These days engineer J. is closer to the blue-collar worker: he did not return to the administration's OOP and instead he chose to join the OOP of equipment installers.

"Besides, I come from a peasant family and am probably more familiar with the mentality of a worker than that of an intellectual. Workers are more spontaneous and truthful. What is more, their work is tangible activity."

The readmission to the party was not among the pleasant moments in Marian J.'s life. But to the engineer this was normal and proper action by the new OOP. One of the workers declared: "That J. sure stuck it out. He was nearly 'stripped naked' by the questioning, some of which was 'below the belt.' But the engineer held out and gave astute answers."

Marian J. is an economist and these days he wants to utilize in his party work the knowledge he has gained through studies. In his new application for admission to the PZPR he wrote: "...I'm particularly interested in the economic aspects of the activity of the PZPR and would like to devote my abilities to this."

And the comrades who recommended the engineer wrote in their comments: "...his numerous professional ties and contacts in societal life, in which he takes an active part, demonstrate convincingly that his application for admission to the PZPR is justified."

Conversations About the Party [by (dm)]:

/A new period of work has started for the secretaries of basic party organizations (POP). The new term of office has commenced. Many PZPR members are first-time POP chiefs, exercising their civic functions, and many others are re-elected incumbents./

/Today we present the voices of newly elected secretaries as well as of those who are still waiting for their organizations to vote./

/Jan Kedzierski, safety and hygiene of labor inspector at the Candle Factory in Szprotawa, PPS member during 1946-1948, PZPR member since 1948. Holds the office of POP secretary for the first time:/

"Nowadays the activities of the PZPR during the first years of its existence are just barely remembered. But what a party it had been! Its meetings were specific, sharp and open. No one feared to criticize the factory director, and no one was angered by criticism. It will take some time before we can match the atmosphere of those early years. Subsequently, party organizations became more silent. And it is precisely this silence that should be eliminated from the party. We must be critical not only toward others but also toward ourselves. Our POP is small, having only 36 members. At the first session of our executive board we apportioned party tasks among ourselves. We want to hold our next meeting jointly with the trade unions and the youth organization, because we intend to discuss social services for the workforce as well as safety and hygiene of labor. As party members, we cannot live in isolation, the more so considering that many matters still need attending to at our factory. It will be easier for us if we act jointly, and we can thus accomplish more. Of course, we have no intention of interfering into trade-union affairs or acting in behalf of the unionists. We speak only of cooperation and mutual assistance. And it is precisely to cooperation, also with the youth organization, to expanding the party ranks, that we want to devote most of our time during the coming term of office."

/Zdzislaw Kostrzewa, brigade leader at ZEFAM (Zielona Gora Furniture Factory), member of the PZPR since 1968. In his second term of office as chief of the POP:/

"I believe that a major problem to be solved is the growth of party ranks, upon, of course, bearing in mind their quality. The situation at our factory is rather favorable. The workforce consists of very young people, one-third of whom are members of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth (ZSMP). And it is precisely the youth organization that is the nursery of new party members for us. What are our arguments? Above all, we want to support the activity of all young people. We want to help them. For example, after great efforts, the ZSMP members succeeded in initiating plant-sponsored home building, and we shall help the builders gain access to construction materials. It is only through practical action that we can attract young people to the party. And it is precisely toward such action that we are gearing ourselves for the new term of office."

"Task number two at the moment is ideological training. We shall organize it during every meeting. The only obstacle is the selection of lecturers. We cannot particularly rely on our in-plant lecturers; they simply do not orient themselves in everything. We thus await assistance from both the city-gmina and the province party committees. And if the training is to be conducted by lecturers dispatched from the higher party echelon, they should be really competent individuals."

"In addition, I believe that our province authorities descend to the 'grassroots' too rarely, lacking that direct contact with workers. I think that this year somebody from the province party committee should visit us."



/Slawomir Oryszczak, first secretary of the PZPR plant committee at the Lower Silesian Foundry Works (DZO), party member since 1961:/

"Of the more than 790 employees of the DZO 210 are party members and most of these are pensioners and annuitants. Unfortunately, in the last 3 years 40 comrades, including many blue-collar workers, have left our ranks. Their reasons varied, for after all we are living in a time of special unrest. During the Solidarity strikes our the entire headquarters staff for the Szprotawa region Solidarity was located at our plant. The workforce was and, to this day, remains divided. Thus it is all the more difficult to reach the minds of the workers. What did we fail to accomplish during the previous term of office? Our program of action had assumed an increase in party membership. We did not fulfill this task completely. On the other hand, our qualitative strength has grown. We have the satisfaction of seeing not only party but also non-party members of the workforce come to us for help in housing, wage and personal problems.

"During the new term of office, prior to the coming plant conference, plant party committee activists should mix with workers more often. There must be that direct contact with both the party and the non-party members of our workforce. We must gain the greatest possible trust, because our plant party organization still lacks it. We will also strive for a greater autonomy of the branch party organizations."

Situation Stalelated [by Andrzej Cudak]:

I met the members of the /party organization at the Gorzow Meat Works/ for the first time early this year. At the time, I had come there to discuss the role and methods of activity of the POP at the plant. My record of the discussion indicates that the local party organization provided a shining example--even though it was not free of flaws. It militantly guided the aspirations of the workforce and the director to gain independence from the district enterprise in Zielona Gora, which was to result in profits to the workforce and the province, and it supported the modernization projects of the plant management, talked with people. At the time, the situation with respect to party training was somewhat worse, although it was supposedly to be a regular part--10-15 minutes long--of every POP meeting, and the same could be said about propaganda within the plant, which was attributed to the construction operations in progress.

It was thus no accident that I found myself on Tuesday 22 November in the canteen of the Meat Works where 38 of the 69 comrades belonging to that POP were sitting at two rows of tables. Not so long ago that party organization had listed 20 additional persons on its membership rolls, but these have transferred, with benefit to the party, to local organizations at which they can normally participate in meetings. That was a wise decision, I thought, on hearing the related explanation which the presidium was forced to make by someone who had not understood the conventions of the statistical apparatus.

But earlier still--before the floor was taken by Zdzislaw Krawczyk, the first secretary of the lame-duck executive board--in accordance with the agenda, the nominations of candidates to posts on the seven-member executive board as well as for a delegate to the city PZPR conference were announced. Elections to the commissions also took place. The presiding officer, Jerzy Sikora, gave

the floor to the POP secretary. The words I could hear were: "In general, I wish to state that the past two and one-half years now behind us were an arduous road, I would say, a road of struggle, a road for accord within the workforce. On summing it up, we can boldly look ourselves in the eye."

The audience becomes somewhat revived with the start of a long discussion concerning separation from the District Enterprise of the Meat Industry in Zielona Gora which--as the director explained later--following a negative decision by the ministry and appeal of the plant's social organizations directly to the premier, will be reconsidered early in December. The secretary stresses the importance of this topic to the whole of the party organization's activities and quotes his six wisdoms: slogans (on consensus, order, understanding, realism and dialogue), the idea of national accord and the words of C. K. Norwid: "The Fatherland is a great and common duty." Further, he speaks rather enigmatically of modernization, sincerity and trust and then, in somewhat more detail, of consultation with worker self-government and the trade union. Then he utters an opinion to which, as minutes passed at that meeting, I increasingly wanted to subscribe: "Our Basic Party Organization needs to spur its activities serving to hasten the implementation of the line of the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress--socialist renewal and progress."

There was no discussion, because the short economic briefing provided by the director Czeslaw Stanczyk could hardly be considered as such. Only comrade Feliczak diffidently observed that the report of the lame-duck executive board should have contained at least some comments on the extent to which the adopted resolutions were implemented, some concise information on what was and what was not attended to rather than figures on attendance at meetings, and lastly he asked what issues should receive special attention during the new term of office. Then the presidium made some fragmentary comments on the need for party training and propaganda--which, though, especially in the light of the evaluation by the PZPR city committee, presented by comrade Wirgiliusz Barzycki of the Province Party Control Commission (WKKP)--should have attracted principal attention at the meeting. For the facts are such that party training has so far not been conducted in general, having been initiated only recently in the 1983/1984 training year.

After the nominees excuse themselves from being nominated, a long silence descends. I observe a stalemated situation. The comrades are sitting in silence, which is just barely interrupted by someone who feels bound to protect the prestige of the organization in the presence of guests from the committee, "because we have been discussing so much." This is heard on television, and there is simply nothing to talk about. Everyone is "in favor" and it is all over.

I again leaf through the 9 pages of the report. I see some specific figures, but my joy is premature. The report discusses the organizational chart of the executive board and, unfortunately, treats in a very generalized manner of the problems of activity of the POP and provides information on the number of general meetings and executive board sessions during the years 1981-1983. This information is to support--as the report states--the thesis of consonance between actual and planned activities as well as with general political-ideological assumptions and the needs of the workforce.

I think that the new first secretary, Zbigniew Kozajda, who during the previous term of office had exercised the functions of second secretary, will have a difficult job to perform. Difficult, not only because, properly speaking, all the members of the executive board had for various reasons refused nomination for the post of first secretary, and not only because Kozajda works in the warehouse, which is several kilometers distant from the plant. My fears concern the present condition of this party organization. Perhaps this is a hasty judgment, but I feel that in the past period the POP has definitely been devoting too much attention to the issue of ending Zielona Gora's jurisdiction over the plant, thus losing irreversibly time which should have been spent on intra-party matters, especially on its own affairs, which as I recall from listening to an earlier discussion, used to be so competently considered precisely here. Now it is otherwise. At the infrequent meetings the principal fields of party work are neglected and, what is worse, this fact was not honestly evaluated at the reports-elections meeting. In practice, the substance of the resolution also is nugatory.

Comrade Zbigniew Kozajda appears to be aware of the mistakes committed so far. In his future activities he intends to highlight the problems of ideological training, which is indispensable to the ongoing struggle against the political enemy, as well as the issue of visual propaganda. The next important issues he mentions as regards the work of the POP are the modernization of the plant, its separation into an autonomous entity, and concern for quality of production. These problems are doubtless important, but they are part of the everyday work of the plant management. The party organization should not confine its attention to economic matters. The new term of office will of a certainty will be easier than the preceding term. Of a certainty, in a few or umpteen months the party organization at the Meat Works will again change somewhat.

#### Party Strength in Membership

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 2 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Henryk Lesniowski: "Be Useful to the Party and the City" under the rubric "The Reports-Elections Campaign Within the PZPR"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /Krystyna Labacka, first secretary of the PZPR City PZPR Committee in Szczytno, declared as follows when opening the city reports-elections conference: "Summing up the work of the PZPR city party committee and the executive board, we are aware that, although we have done much to implement optimally the resolutions of the party and the city party conferences in order to serve above all the population of our city in measure with our experience and knowledge, we have of a certainty not avoided mistakes. We have not always either succeeded in demonstrating sufficient tenacity in completing justly undertaken projects. Sometimes we have had the impression that they exceed our capabilities, but it is you who will be evaluating our performance."

The evaluation of that performance during the more than 2 years long term of office was made by 191 delegates representing the 2,130 party members and candidate members active in the 55 POPs and 23 OOPs [of the Szczytno city



party organization]. The conference was attended by Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the PZPR province committee, as well as by representatives of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), the other political parties, and youth organizations, and also by veterans of the worker movement. It was opened with a minute of silence in honor of the memory of the recently deceased honored party activists and members of the authorities Jozef Walaszczyk, Jozef Kolaczek and Jan Lasek.

The extensive report on the activities of the city party echelon, presented by Krystyna Labacka, discussed all the projects, initiatives and work undertaken by the city party committee and its executive board.

Much space was devoted to the activity of the party and its elements, which exist in all the work establishments but which are not all equally satisfactorily active. The reports-elections campaign contributed to reviving their activism. This is what happened in the POPs at the UNITRA-Cement Factory, the LENPOL [expansion unknown], the WZSR [expansion unknown], the furniture factory, the Team of Vocational Schools No 1, the Preschool Education Studium, the LAS Forest Materials Processing Plant, and the RUCH Workers' Publishing Cooperative (RSW).

Krystyna Labacka declared: "During the campaign there were no silent meetings and neither was there avoidance of discussion. It is true that some of the discussion pertained to economic and administrative affairs and commercial activities. But this should not be surprising, since all these matters influence the living standards of the people, their wellbeing and their assessment of the performance of political and administrative authorities."

In evaluating the membership of the party organization, some numerical decline was admitted.

The first secretary of the PZPR City Committee declared: "Many of those who have left the party did a favor to us, because they did not fit within our party and nowadays our road would not have been the same for them. (Gabriel Stanek, chairman of the City Party Control Commission, reported in detail to those present on the number of persons deleted and expelled from the party and on the penalties imposed.) Many have, however, left the party under the pressure of agitators, being unable to resist the brutal anti-party and anti-socialist propaganda. At present a growing number of such individuals are submitting petitions for re-admission to the party. Instances of this kind have occurred at the LENPOL and the Cooperative of the Disabled. This is gratifying. But we shall examine and consider these petitions very thoroughly, because we don't need more disappointments."

In conclusion, Krystyna Lubacka declared: /"The party is gaining in strength and regaining the initiative. The reports-elections campaign served to survey its condition. The progress is evident, but inadequate to the tasks. There still exist some passive POPs which do not influence their communities. And since the condition of comparable organizations is not the same everywhere, this is the best proof that absence of activism hinges not on internal or external conditions but on the situation and, above all, on particular individuals."/



As the next item on the agenda, a report on the activities of the City Party Audit Commission was presented by Jan Zielinski, while the city chief Jan Hofman provided a briefing on the economic and administrative problems of Szczytno.

The unambiguous and critical nature of the appraisals provided in these reports was reflected in the discussion. Much of it was devoted to problems of the party and intra-party life.

Marek Pudlo said: "Faith in the party's leading role has returned. This is gratifying, but we also should be aware that in the new term of office we face new more difficult tasks which will require of our party echelon an appropriate preparation of the aktiv, arming it with arguments, broadening the information flow and developing ideological training."

Marian Nowacki said: "One should speak in simple and understandable language to the people. But words alone will not be enough. Deeds also are needed. Everywhere we are being asked about the country's future. It will depend on how we all shape it, and so will the party. We have joined the party's ranks for better or worse. Hence, each of us should assess his party conscience: Have I already done everything for the party's good?"

Edmund Pokojowski declared: "It's not true that schools focus exclusively on education and have abandoned upbringing. But it is true that they attend to upbringing only on a small scale. But then the schools cannot accept the entire responsibility for upbringing. They can do this only jointly with the family. Thus there is a need for forming a unified upbringing front, which offers a great scope for youth organizations. Unfortunately, here in Szczytno we are not fully exploiting the latter possibility. Yet such potential is harbored in, e.g. expanding the activities of the scouts."

Evaluating the past term of office, the delegates expressed their acknowledgment of those workforces and political organizations which, despite the general relaxation, succeeded in achieving the tasks posed to them. Wacław Grupa declared: "Everything that will happen also depends on us, because the crisis will be eliminated neither by legislation nor by those who stand aside and wait--the kibitzers. We must eliminate it ourselves through our daily labor."

In the discussion attention was drawn to the need to draft a program for celebrating the 40th anniversary of the PRL. Zbigniew Dobek declared that, among other things: "This anniversary will prompt us toward discussing the road we have traveled, but it also will serve to demolish the thesis of our enemies that we have not accomplished anything."

Economic problems were not avoided. Much attention was devoted to discussing the question of incentives for increasingly better and more productive work. But the discussion was not confined to postulates, since examples of local solutions were described (Lucjan Miniszewski). It was also said that productivity depends not only on rank-and-file workers but also on the plant management and clerical personnel. Yet some publications produce the impression that only workers are responsible for the increase in output and improvement in its quality (Leopold Grynowiecki). The same raw material may be variously utilized: better or worse. At the time when the meat plant in

Szczytno was shut down, the cured meats were tasty and of good quality. Now they are bad again. Because we are not learning how to struggle for quality (Zenon Kasperkiewicz). Postulates for improving the activities of the trading apparatus and the supplies of consumer goods were addressed to the city authorities.

During the discussion, which lasted late into the night, the topics considered included problems of protecting the lowest wage earners as well as pensioners, housing construction and repair, the profitability of production and services, and the development of trade unions; the considerable activism of the PRON was emphasized.

On taking the floor, Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the PZPR province committee, declared that, despite the numerous difficulties, shortcomings and threatening problems, the city party organization has implemented its principal tasks. /Among the negative aspects he named the toleration of the relative passivity of certain activists. This problem should be tackled at the moment when it arose, instead of waiting until it is done by the conference. It is true--Jan Laskowski said--that the party organization in Szczytno has rebuilt its strength, but as a whole it still is not a coherent force. And building that cohesiveness within the entire party organization will be a task of the newly elected party officers./

Next, the delegates elected by secret ballot the City PZPR Committee, the City Party Control Commission and the City Party Audit Commission. Also elected by secret ballot was the first secretary of the City PZPR Committee--the incumbent, Krystyna Labacka. Defining the tasks for the future, she declared that all undertakings must be of use to the party, to us all and to the entire city.

The city reports-elections conference in Szczytno ended with singing "The International."

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## PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

### Gmina Reports-Elections Campaign

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 5 Dec 83 pp 1,2

[Article by asch: "The Reporting-Electoral Campaign in the PZPR Gmina Conference in Zukow"]

[Text] Last Saturday, at the collective school in Zukow, 82 delegates representing the combined 532 members of the gmina party organization participated in a reporting-electoral conference.

Present at the discussions was, with others, Stanislaw Bejger, first secretary of the PZPR KW [provincial committee] in Gdansk.

The report of the outgoing leadership was read by Zbigniew Jarecki, first secretary of the PZPR KG [gmina committee]. He presented the work of the gmina party organization during the difficult and complicated years that have passed. The party has come out of this time of trial a more cohesive and disciplined unit. The speaker also made an assessment of the degree to which resolutions dated 2½ years ago have been accomplished, declaring that most of them have been realized. "In the last several weeks," said the speaker, "the discussion on the subject of the proposal to raise the prices of food articles is continuing. It is the duty of the POP [basic party organization] to present methods of easing and compensating for the price increases." In the report it was stressed that the farmers from Zukowo Gmina are criticizing the functioning of the SKR [Agricultural Circles Cooperative] and the gmina cooperative, the system of contracts and methods for the wholesale purchase of farm products. Much criticism was raised on the subject of water supply to the villages, the building of roads and telecommunications.

Near the end of his speech the KG first secretary stressed that the party is asserting the duty of each party link to appraise the social effects of its activities honestly.

After the report an assessment of the PZPR KG activity in Zukow was made by Zbigniew Brunke, director of the Regional Center for Party Work [ROPP] in Kartuzy.

Much discussion was generated by the matter of giving up the field used for party activities, now to be used as a site for a commercial center. The leader of the gmina PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] council spoke on this subject. It appears that the decision to hand the field over for use of the said center was made when the present KG first secretary was not yet in office.

After this matter, which distressed many members, was explained, the real discussion started, the subject concerning mostly farming, the wholesale purchase of farm products, and livestock production. Among other things, the shortage of building supplies such as tarpaper and asbestos-cement roofing sheets. In the gmina the building of housing cannot be started since there is a lack of terrain for single-family units. Those involved in the discussion raised the question of the needs of gmina inhabitants, and the necessity, for example, of building another health care center. Also mentioned as one of the more pressing needs was the modernization of the sewage treatment plant in the gmina.

During the discussion Stanislaw Bejger spoke. He familiarized himself with the most important matters and gave a positive assessment of party activity in the gmina.

During the course of Saturday's discussion the delegates of the gmina party organization in Zukow advanced an appeal which expressed deep concern over the beginning of the deployment of medium-range missiles by the United States in Western Europe.

At the end of the deliberations an election of the gmina committee was held. The function of KG first secretary was given to Zbigniew Jarecki. Two candidates for the provincial conference were also chosen.

Last Saturday in Gdansk Province, reporting-electoral conferences of the PZPR also took place at the Gdansk Ship Refitting Yard and in the following gminas: Smetowo, Gniewno, and Liniewo. KW [provincial committee] first secretaries Mieczyslaw Chabowski, Mieczyslaw Stefanski, Edward Kijek and Leon Brancewicz participated in the deliberations.

#### The Reporting-Electoral Campaign in Braniewo

Last Saturday a city conference was held in Braniewo. Ninety-five delegates participated; among the guests was PZPR KW first secretary Jerzy Prusiecki.

In the report an in-depth analysis on the effects of party work was presented, with special stress on accomplishments and shortcomings. It was pointed out that during the most difficult period the echelon and the organizations showed much concern over maintaining the correct production climate among the work force and the ideopolitical unity of party members. Because of this there were no disturbances in the workplace and in the POP, while the membership in the organization shrank minimally. Near the end of the term there was improvement in party discipline and in following the statutory norms in the POP. Effective measures were taken to strengthen the POP in the workplace.



During an interesting discussion, in which 15 persons participated and which lasted several hours, a number of problems were touched upon which concern the organizations, the city and the workplaces. Discussed were problems in education, culture, and health care. Pointed out were examples of the lack of respect for public property, installations and housing. Mentioned were the results in the battle with social pathology, carelessness, bad management, and speculation. Petitions were lodged with the local government on the matter of building a grammar school and a preschool, and also public housing. It was proposed that efforts be increased by PSS [Food Service Enterprise] Społem to improve the quality of baked goods and meat products, and that a system of personal responsibility for decisions and the development of initiatives and social programs should be worked out.

Doubts were voiced about international peace and world safety in the present tense world political situation.

The conference report detailed assignments for the future, putting stress on the necessity of achieving the full realization of statutory demands by all POP's and party members, the improvement of cooperation between the POP's and the administration, social organizations, and party groups.

As a result of the election the conference established a new KM [city committee] administration and gave mandates to nine delegates for the provincial conference. The first secretary of the PZPR KM, Władysław Drag, was reelected.

In the Elbląg area, gmina conferences also took place in Płoskinia and Sadlinki. Henryk Szumielski, PZPR KW secretary, took part, among others, in the Płoskinia conference. Jarosław Kisielewski was reelected first secretary of the PZPR KG.

#### Elbląg Mayor Discusses Local Employment

Gdańsk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 5 Dec 83 p 2

[Article by hd: "Regarding Persons Who Continually Avoid Work, the Elbląg Governor Has Ruled..."]

[Text] On 1 December the Elbląg governor issued a ruling on the matter of calling persons who avoid work to participate in work for the public good. This ruling to perform work for the public good will affect persons who are registered as not working or listed as those who continuously avoid work by the administrations of Elbląg, Malbork, and Sztum, and who fit the specific conditions listed in the applicable regulations.

The governor listed the enterprises for which these people will do work. In Elbląg these are: The Community Management Enterprise, the Road Repair and Landscaping Enterprise, City Sanitation Enterprise, Provincial Transportation Enterprise, Provincial Central Heating Enterprise, Provincial Sewer and Water Works, and the Community Housing Enterprise. In Malbork: the Housing and Community Management Enterprise, in Sztum: the Housing and Community Management Enterprise and that area's division of the Provincial Sewer and Water Works.

Management and control of the realization of the governor's ruling will be exercised by the Employment and Social Affairs Division of UW [Provincial Office] in the task of calling to and releasing from the duty to work, as well as in processing complaints and difficulties arising from the assigned work. The Community and Housing Management division of UW will work in the area of organizing the tasks, assuring proper health, safety and social conditions, administer pay for work done, and assure the observance of work rules.

The departments of employment in the city administrations of Elblag, Malbork and Sztum call on all persons who are listed as not working or as resisting work to contact the departments immediately for detailed information and directions. The ruling here mentioned goes into effect on the day of its announcement in the mass media.

#### Campaign on Education of Young Intelligentsia

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 5 Dec 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Macz: "The Reporting-Electoral Campaign in the PZPR, Concern for the Fate of Educating and Upbringing the Young Intelligentsia"]

[Text] All the reporting-electoral meetings of POP's [basic party organization] and OOP's [branch party organization] in the institutions of higher learning in Szczecin are over, as are school conferences. The common trait they shared was a factual discussion of the problems in bringing up the young intelligentsia and shaping the correct moral-ethical stance in students. Much time was devoted to the matter of developing education and the didactic base. There was no lack of comments which went beyond the problems of educational institutions. Especially stressed was the necessity of fully realizing the tasks described for the educational community by the Ninth PZPR Congress.

The party echelon of the oldest institution of higher education in Szczecin, Szczecin Polytechnic, conducted an assessment of the past term. During the conference, in which the KW first secretary in Szczecin took part, it was unanimously conceded that the past term was among the historically most difficult ones. It is hard to wonder at such a statement of the matter. Szczecin Polytechnic, its cadres and youth was, in the last term, an object of special interest for our political opponent. Not always, as was mentioned in the discussion, were the members of party organizations at Szczecin Polytechnic able to give significant resistance to actions and tendencies that were unfriendly to socialism.

The school committee [KU] at Szczecin Polytechnic had to battle divisive and oppositional tendencies which appeared in some groups of didactic workers. Another task of the KU was to counteract the ideological devastation which was the goal of opposition acts among the students and youth at the school.

During the discussion of a number of problems was debated, some of a long-term prospect and others concerning today. One of the speakers mentioned the problem of adjuncts, or young scientific workers, who today must consider their future at the institution. There was a question of whether enterprise directors are

willing to employ engineers with PhD degrees in managerial posts. Generally, the answer was negative. The stance of the didactic cadres was considered. Young people, students, learn about life from looking at their teachers. But often some of those in the teaching community have shown a dual face or even a tendency toward opportunism. In this way the values of the young were devastated and overturned. Today we must fight for the young at the school, it was decided at the conference. We must activate youth, which is locked in small collegiate groups merely looking at that which is happening around them.

The conference elected a new administration. Engineer Doctor Kazimierz Szczesny, a scientific worker at the Electrical Engineering Department, was elected first PZPR KU secretary at Szczecin Polytechnic.

At the reporting-electoral school conference in the WSM [Higher Maritime School] it was stressed that in the community of scientific workers and student youth the proposition of the school's party organization to train cadres for Third World countries was accepted with approval. The hard currency thus obtained would then be used to develop a didactic base at the WSM in Szczecin. In the discussion it was recommended that the school should accept contracts for scientific research from other nations. This would benefit our economy.

Much attention was devoted by the speakers to the problems of indoctrination. "It is necessary," it was said, "to increase the involvement of the student youth and draw it toward the party's ideas." "The schools must shape all aspects of the citizen in the modern nation," was another thought expressed by party members from the WSM in the discussion.

Ryszard Witek was reelected as the first secretary of the PZPR school committee at the WSM.

In the discussion at the school reporting-electoral campaign in the WSP [Higher Pedagogical School] much attention was devoted to the inspiring function of the party. "The most important thing," said delegates in the discussion, "is that the party must find greater support in the youth community. The school trains teachers; the level and shape of the future will depend on how well the teaching cadre is prepared to do its work."

The party organization at the WSP has emerged victorious from the last period when the higher schools were inundated by a wave of anarchy and disturbance. Even though there were losses, the PZPR has gathered the most valuable members around its leadership.

The chief goal of the party at the WSP will be the rebuilding of the links with youth. In the discussion the matter of creating a Northern Pomorze University was brought up. Party members and teachers from the WSP are ready to give unilateral assistance in forming a scientific-didactic base at the future school.

Kazimierz Weta was elected first PZPR KU secretary at the WSP.

The party organization at the AR [Agricultural Academy] had a main role in preparing the program proposal for the scientific community before the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The preparation of resolutions regarding the higher

level education for the Ninth Congress formed the greater part of the discussion at the school reporting-electoral conference of the PZPR at the AR. Implementation of the resolutions in the higher schools was spoken of positively but with great concern. A problem of great importance is the establishment of a student self-government council.

Much of the discussion was occupied by the problem of developing scientific research work and using it for the benefit of the Szczecin region.

Antoni Mickiewicz was chosen first secretary of the PZPR KU at the Agricultural Academy.

#### Party Membership at Białawna Wool Mill

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 5 Dec 83 p 3

[Interview with Marian Juchimiuk, POP first secretary in the Białawna Wool Mill in Białą Podlaską, by Jan Stanisławski: "What Can Be Seen From the Bottom?"]

[Text] Marian Juchimiuk, born in 1955, a graduate of Warsaw University's Faculty of Management. In secondary school a member of the ZSMW [Union of Socialist Rural Youth], then the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], PZPR member from 1978, employed at Białawna from 1980 as a specialist for organization and management. First secretary of the POP from mid-1982. Re-elected POP first secretary at the PZPR reporting-electoral conference on 24 November 1982. Married, with one child.

[Question] Let's start the interview with some statistics. How many party members are there at Białawna?

[Answer] We have 127 members out of 1600 employees.

[Question] How many persons left the party in the last term?

[Answer] Thirty-eight persons. In speaking about these departures we must remember that this was an especially difficult time for the party. The cause of these departures was the lack of interechelon links and the virtual abandonment of these members. Secondly, the cause lies in the fact that before 1981 emphasis was placed on quantity, not on quality, and among those that left there were some who got into the party by accident. Here, I'm thinking of several department directors who treated their party membership as a fountainhead of privilege. Thirdly, there was no proper interorganizational work in the POP's, a lack of party propaganda to counteract apathy. Fourth, it must be admitted that here the party was on the defensive and this did not help those who were psychologically weak.

[Question] Did anyone talk to those who left the party?

[Answer] There were talks initiated by the provincial committee. We did not talk to all, some did not wish it. Even though the talks did not influence anyone to return to the party, the effects were positive; those people are with us, on the side of the party.



[Question] How many new members did you induct into the party in the last term?

[Answer] We did not accept anyone. This omission was noted in the report as a task which we were not able to realize in the last term.

[Question] Was no one willing to join?

[Answer] In total there were five persons who declared their intention to join the PZPR. But presently we do not accept "walk-in" candidates. We observe each candidate; in fact, we saw that we did the right thing. These were not people worthy of party membership. The task of expanding the party ranks was written into the conference resolution. In the enterprise there is an active youth group, there are many that sympathize with the party. We can look for new members there.

[Question] In the enterprise most employees are women, but in the party organization they are definitely in a minority. Is this proper, is this good?

[Answer] This is difficult to answer. It would be better if there were more members in the party. But I am a champion of the view that quality rather than quantity is decisive.

[Question] Are you not faced with complaints that while this is mostly a woman's workplace it is managed by men, even in the party?

[Answer] No, there are no such complaints. This is possibly due to the fact that in the last term many of the party secretaries were young people who quickly established contact with the work force.

[Question] What constitutes contact with the work force in your establishment?

[Answer] I came into the apparatus without any old burdens, my friends on the executive board as well. Therefore, we approached the work force without fear. Surely our age helped, young people can find a common language more easily. But during this contact we always put our reaction to people's difficulties and troubles, with which they turned to us, first.

[Question] Did they turn to you? Did they not boycott the committee when martial law was declared?

[Answer] No. Many people approached us. Indeed, the majority of the people looking for help are not party members. People, then, have trust in the party. Another matter, one that all know in the enterprise, is that there is no bureaucracy, we are not heartless or indifferent toward work and personal matters. Let me give you a recent example. A worker from the social department approached us and described his problem. He would like to leave Biawena, he told us, because his work was not appreciated and his pay was low. We checked; indeed, he was a good worker, and had low pay. After presenting the matter to the administration he received a raise.

[Question] Based on what you are telling me the workers at Biawena are treating the party committee as the workplace complaint bureau?

[Answer] No, these interventions are just a small part of the matters we handle. I am happy that we can help someone. This is our new role, we then feel needed. Of course, there are matters which are not resolved to the complaintant's satisfaction--for example, in assigning housing. But in most cases we can help people.

[Question] How does the administration view these interventions?

[Answer] In the correct way. The voice of the party counts; if the matter can be justified, then there is no problem in settling it.

[Question] What do you do at Biawena besides making interventions which, as you say, are not your main job?

[Answer] All matters at Biawena interest the party. We want to be aware of everything and take part in everything. We co-manage the enterprise with the administration, the workplace self-government council, the union, and the social organizations. At the same time we do not relinquish the party leadership role in the workplace. The organization has the task of initiating many matters which pertain to the enterprise. We respect the independence of the self-government group and the trade union. We observe and support those bodies in actions which, from our point of view, are proper. We interact in their work through our member's presence.

[Question] How would you assess the atmosphere in the workplace? Is there a front of national understanding at Biawena, could we talk about it?

[Answer] As to the front, I would not risk an assessment. Surely, the common economic interest is visible. This is an effect of the reform, the people see that now no one will give things to us, they must rely on their own work. There is an understanding at the level of the collectives that manage the workplace. As for the atmosphere, it can be assessed through the prism of production results and through the activity of the work force in social and political organization work or through the prism of discipline, order, and neatness. The production results are good. The involvement of the work force is great. Order and neatness need no discussion.

We did not forcefully seek political opponents in the last few months. To those whom we know to be our political opponents we tried to stretch out our hand, to ease our manner, and draw them toward us. In the enterprise many people with differing concepts and world views work. This fact determines the type of activity we use to improve the political atmosphere in the workplace.

[Question] You have said that in political work subtlety counts...

[Answer] There would be nothing to do in the party if we could not recognize the situation in the workplace, if we could not approach people in a civilized manner, if we acted in the traditional way, giving commands from the top. The worker respects an administration which respects him. In the committee we understand our role of serving the worker, and this determines our actions.

[Question] Does the management cadre share this view?

[Answer] The management cadre is almost 100 percent party members. They think like party members.

[Question] In the workplace you have less than 10 percent party members, at the management level they are at 100 percent. Is there no room for non-party members?

[Answer] Recommending party members to management positions is one way that party leadership is implemented in the enterprise. But we do not close the way to advancement for non-party members. Just the opposite--recently we recommended a non-party member for the important post of director in the machine and energy department. The new director is proving himself.

[Question] Let's leave work matters and move on to the broader area of national matters. What can be seen from the bottom? What are workers, party members and non-members, talking about at Biawena?

[Answer] The reform--we can see it from the bottom. We can see that the regulations are changing too frequently. For the mechanism of reform to work properly we must have a timeframe. Now we are acting by halves, we don't know the effects of some actions but already we are abandoning them, even though we are mid-way. This is the opinion of the specialists. But the worker asks, "What will the reform do for me?" The worker can feel this because in our enterprise the difference in pay between a good and a bad worker is 4000-5000 zlotys. This is an effect of the reform. Pay has grown by 30 percent reaching a level of 15,000-17,000 zlotys, not including additional compensation or social support. The reform is present in the workplace not only through raises, but also through the activities of the self-government group, decentralization of authority to the lowest level, and collective decisionmaking. There is no disbelief in the reform, there is fear that it may not be continued, that we may leave the primary course.

From the bottom we can see the matter of renewal. There are great expectations in this regard. It depends on completely realizing the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress. There is the fear that the renewal may be delayed. The worker does not see the surrounding legal conditions, he is simply waiting for the promised accounting.

[Question] What disturbs the workers in the enterprise?

[Answer] Apartment allocations. Some time ago many workers were allotted apartments for free. Then, for various reasons, these people left Biawena but kept the apartments. There are about 30 of them. The thing is that the work force is still supporting these people because the rent on those apartments is very low, while the high maintenance costs are paid by the enterprise, that is, by the workers. I spoke about this in Gdansk, at a young party members' conference. General Oliwa promised that in 2 weeks the matter would be settled. TRYBUNA LUDU printed the story. After that we read in TRYBUNA LUDU the information from a Government Presidium session that because of "important social considerations" the current regulations may not be changed, the apartments cannot be recovered and even the rent can't be raised. The bitterness of the workers is great; they say: "Why did you promise to settle this matter?"

[Question] I would like to ask about relations between POP's, city echelons, and the provincial echelon.

[Answer] During the course of the conference we determined that we should improve the forms and methods of cooperation. We have working contacts in all departments of the provincial committee that are interested in Biawena, the most lively ones are with the economic department. We benefit from this in that our matters are placed before the KW executive board. There is no direct interference by the KW in our matters. Sometimes there are some misunderstandings in party work at a large enterprise. We have some expectations, we are the largest employer in Biala Podlaska, the situation here often sets the mood for the entire city. The workers see a need for the presence of KW secretaries at the meetings of each OOP in our organization, common discussions, and an exchange of views.

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## PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

## Campaign on Current Requirements

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 5 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Janusz Garlicki: "Measuring up to Current Requirements"]

[Text] The reports-election conference of the railway organization of the PKP [Polish State Railroads] junction in Bydgoszcz did not dwell on the evaluation of the last 2.5 years, though it did evaluate the activities of the organization in this difficult and complex time. It was referred to tersely: the situation was as it was--we all know what it was. The evaluation was rather concerned with the behavior and activity of the party organization and its plant committee in that situation which is well known and etched in everyone's memory. It was stated in the report that the organization not only retained unity and the ability to act, but emerged from the hard trial strengthened, more unified, enriched with new experience and forms of activity. When the situation deteriorated, the intensity of work of the plant committee and its executive board increased, and the plant committee became the pillar and foundation for party members and their posture.

This opinion was proven in the course of the conference. In the discussion, Comrade M. Kowalikowski said that this was a very difficult and strenuous term for all the OOP's [branch party organizations] and the plant committee, and train engineer Comrade T. Walczak simply thanked the executive board for standing up to the requirements of this most difficult period. In the resolution the conference also evaluated the activity of outgoing plant committee as correct and conforming to the line of the Ninth Congress. Secretary of the Central Committee H. Bednarski also highly praised the attitude of the railroad community, and Deputy Minister of Transportation J. Glowacki called the work of the PKP junction exemplary in the scope of the country.

However, these opinions did not set the pace and content of the proceedings. They were not dwelt upon at length, they were formulated tersely and sounded as if by the way, in the course of discussing current labors and solutions. However, everyone needed these opinions not only to pay homage to those deserving it, but rather as an expression or maybe the foundation of certain knowledge of themselves, of the awareness of their ability in the face of further tasks of the PKP junction and its 1,000-member organization and also of defining their role and position with regard to these tasks.

Certainly, transportation is the most important duty of the railroad. These tasks are successfully fulfilled by the junction. This has been accompanied by a decrease in the number of traction and shunting accidents by one-third as well as the generally favorable fulfillment of the savings program elaborated on the initiative of the plant committee. Our comrades see the fulfillment of transportation plans and the attainment of expected savings as the main duty in assuring an improvement in the economic situation of the country and controlling inflation. These issues were handled succinctly. Still, insuring favorable results is and has been very difficult. In the conditions where the internal development of the railroad for years has been lagging behind the increase of transportation tasks, where the shortage of personnel is permanent, even in basic units; as Comrade W. Pujso said in the discussion, it was only possible due to the attitudes of people and their qualifications.

However, the conference did not restrict itself to the "traditional" way of handling transportation problems, but introduced the issue of passenger transportation in a new light. It was brought up in the discussion and Deputy Minister J. Glowacki enlarged on it.

Concern was expressed over deteriorating conditions of passenger transportation. The deputy minister admitted that the railroad did not treat passenger transportation preferentially since it did not receive enough capital investment and was burdened with freight transportation. Shortcomings in this field are considerable. As the above-mentioned Comrade W. Pujso said, in West Germany the same number of passengers that we have is transported in thrice the number of railway cars.

Thus, the shortage of rolling stock, shortcomings in capital allocation, failure to mechanize many operations (for example, car washing), shortage of personnel which is due not only to objectively occurring shortfalls in employment but also to erroneous employment policy are the most important elements contributing to the image of passenger transportation that we know. This situation cannot be changed overnight, because substantial investment and a lot of time are needed. The national railroad is beginning to face up to the issue.

However, even today this problem requires a new approach, a different way of thinking and activity of the ministry as well as all other railroad units.

Therefore, sponsoring the difficult process of changes in approaching passenger transportation and overcoming yesterday's customs and stereotypes of this problem became one of the important tasks of the party organization of the junction.

There is an immediate link between the required investment and the ability of the railroad to meet mounting transportation tasks. Therefore, it is no accident that investment drew the undivided attention of the conference. It follows from the statements of the discussants who took up this issue (among others, R. Habel and F. Pionke) that the scope of investment activity of the junction is quite wide. However, as elsewhere, along with the undertakings which are carried out successfully there are ones which run into

considerable difficulties. It is also a fact that in 1982 less than 82 percent of allocated investment funds were utilized. At the same time, both Deputy Minister J. Glowacki and DOKP [District Directorate of State Railways] director D. Adamek offered assurances that there would be no shortage of investment funds, especially for social projects.

Therefore, on the one hand there is a large need in investment, and on the other considerable funds are to be disposed of, but they cannot be fully utilized. The bottleneck in construction and assembly work presents an obstacle. It was stressed at the conference that in this situation any initiative allowing us to overcome at least somewhat this bottleneck is very valuable and in great demand. It was recognized that increasing the scope of investment and simultaneously concentrating it on the projects which are most important for the working environment and social needs is an important task.

Special significance was attached in the discussion to several of the many investment projects. One of them was the construction of a hospital and two residential buildings in Solec Kujawski. Preparations are far advanced. Comrade H. Bednarski, secretary of the Central Committee who attended the conference, pledged the support and cooperation of provincial authorities in these ventures. Conversion of the Inowroclaw-Gniewkowo stretch is also an important task, because electrification of the entire trunk line to Torun and subsequently the Torun-Bydgoszcz line hinges on it. Nonetheless, there already are delays on the Inowroclaw-Gniewkowo stretch caused by the lack of posts, gate elements and paint. However, it was recognized at the conference that the electrification of this stretch should be completed as fast as possible. Aside from other considerations, it is a fragment of a process of national importance. Not so long ago, 200 kilometers of tracks were electrified annually. Now we have reached 400 kilometers, and it is necessary to go as high as 800 or even 1,000 kilometers annually. At the same time, alleviating the shortage of engines for passenger transportation depends on the rate of railroad electrification.

Order and safety were another issue which drew the individual attention of the conference. A drop in the number of accidents, which I already mentioned, signifies certain progress. The number of labor-related accidents also declined (however, this year, six accidents have been registered, including one aggravated). Still, there are problems which cause concern to the party organization. This especially applies to theft of railway cargo and the safety of conductor teams.

As the deputy minister of transportation stated, the theft abated somewhat, but it still presents a difficult problem. In the opinion of the conference, the management should counteract theft with more vigor. The theft occurs most often at the railway stations rather than en route, frequently it takes place in close proximity to station-masters. It is necessary to combat it (meaning theft, of course) especially on particularly theft-prone lines. We must also reach for the main opportunity which is found in freight haulage organization: expensive merchandise should not be carried in easily accessible cars, when at the same time securely locked cars are not utilized. Better organization calls for some extra effort, but it is needed.

Safety of conductors is perhaps the most important issue. Comrade R. Los spoke about the cases of conductors being beaten up on trains when discharging their responsibilities. Deputy Minister J. Glowacki stated that last year there were 60 cases of conductors being thrown off the trains! This is also a peculiar measure of the labor of railway workers and in a sense a measure of their attitudes. Nonetheless, the safety of conductors must be assured. The lines where the threat to their security is especially large must be more thoroughly patrolled by the SOK [Railroad Security Service] and the Civic Militia should respond rapidly and efficiently to any incident.

Certainly, this is not a full account of the problems taken up by the railroad workers' conference. Social issues were also on the agenda, such as the housing policy and construction, the need to set up a housing commission with full entitlements, social construction and service of work teams, the functioning of a health care center, personnel policy, the work on the new system of wages and on the railway worker's chart, and the development of the trade union movement. It may be said that there was no issue important for the junction and its work force which the conference did not take up. It stated the position and tasks of the party organization with regard to all the important issues of the community. Being together with the work force on all issues is the basic condition for the bond with the non-party members and their confidence in the organization. Not to stop at explaining the stand and the ideology of the party, but to translate this ideology into reality in the entire life of the community--this basic thought derived from the 13th Central Committee Plenum as an important thesis and pervaded the entire proceedings of the conference.

Also subordinated to this principle was the work of the conference on outlining the tasks of further ideological and organizational strengthening of the party, increasing the role and autonomy of OOP's, better positioning of cadres, further development of indoctrination and intraparty information, cooperation with the ZSMP, preoccupation with the development and reinforcement of the trade union movement. Only a united and ideologically uniform party organization sensitive to all the concerns of the community can measure up to the requirements of this time.

#### Campaign Serves Workers

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 5 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] A city reports-elections PZPR meeting was held in Chojnice on Saturday. The presidium was comprised of those chairing the proceedings as well as veterans of the workers' movement and the first secretary of the PZPR provincial committee in Bydgoszcz, Comrade Zenon Zmudzinski, who upon the opening of the conference presented a medal commemorating the centennial of the Polish workers' movement to Henryk Gronkowski, a meritorious party functionary.

It was stated in the report of the outgoing first secretary of the city committee, Zbigniew Smigielski, that the course of the reports-elections campaign was creative. Early in the term, certain PZPR elements went through



a difficult time; however, they have largely switched to offensive actions towards the end. Currently, the PZPR organization of Chojnice numbers 3,147 members and candidates, out of whom 52 percent are workers. Forty-five new candidates have already been admitted, to which the party organization of the PKP [State Polish Railroads] junction made the largest contribution of 20 candidates.

During this term, the problems of ideology and upbringing and the improvement of the system of intraparty information were paramount. Not all of the topical commissions worked with the same vigor, there were shortcomings in fulfilling training programs. The symptoms of improvement are already showing: ideological meetings have been substituted for party training, the operation of the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism has been enhanced. Problems of the youth, culture and education, socioeconomic problems, including the operation of health care service, communal and municipal utilities were given much attention in party activities. Appreciable progress in these fields has been registered in Chojnice.

After the report and statement by the city party control commission and the city audit commission, a discussion began, during which 25 comrades and invited guests took the floor (including the representatives of ZSL, SD, PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] and others). Reference was made to the difficult political and socioeconomic conditions during the past term of the authorities, the dangerous policy of arms race forced by the USA, the work of youth organizations, the operation of health service and retail trade and problems of education. In the context of economic reform, improvements were called for in the supply of raw materials and the transportation of slaughter cattle to the stockyards. Many discussants took up the problem of environmental protection. Sharp protests were made over what in the opinion of speakers was a reckless decision of the State Fisheries Enterprise to dump waste from Chojnice into the only still-clean lake, Niedzwiedz, where not only people from Chojnice but also vacationers from Charzykowie come to swim.

First secretary of the PZPR provincial committee, Comrade Zenon Zmudzinski, stressed the ample results of party activity, which led to the stabilization of political life also apparent in Chojnice. The reports-elections campaign also bore out the need to enhance political-ideological work inside the POP's [Basic party organizations], to reinforce the contact of the party directly with the people on the job. Aggressiveness is needed in propagating party activities in the populace and winning over the broadest support of allies for their realization. Comrade Zenon Zmudzinski also referred to many concrete questions brought up by the discussants, pledging working consideration of all postulates addressed to the provincial authorities. He encouraged a still better response by all elements of the party to the difficulties and concerns of the people. He emphasized the ample results of work of the Chojnice PZPR echelon, which is also due to the efforts of the current first secretary of the city committee, Zbigniew Smigielski, and the entire aktiv. At the same time, he appealed for an improvement over the already achieved results.

Zbigniew Smigielski was reelected first secretary of the PZPR city committee (135 out of 141 votes). Kazimierz Klunder was elected chairman of the city audit commission, and Henryk Kostuch chairman of the city party control commission. Fifteen delegates to the provincial reports-elections conference were also elected.

The conference adopted a program of activities for the current term and obligated the executive board of the city committee to follow up on all suggestions made in the discussion. It passed a resolution expressing concern over the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe. This policy threatens peace and reinvigorates revisionist forces in the FRG. This is observed with particular concern in Chojnice, as the city was the first to experience the brutality of war unleashed by Hitlerite Germany in 1939.

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One hundred and twenty-eight delegates representing 2,632 PZPR members and candidates took part in the proceedings of the city-gmina PZPR conference in Swiecie. Provincial committee secretary Comrade Janusz Zemke, who is a party member at the Pulp and Paper Enterprise, was also in attendance.

In the report material, in the keynote address by the first secretary of the city-gmina committee, Comrade Jerzy Krzywanski, and in the discussion the political-economic problems of the city and gmina were comprehensively reviewed. The authority of the POP's has been considerably restored during the term, personnel issues have been put in order by several changes at executive positions in enterprises and organizations, the work of councilmembers of the PZPR has picked up, cooperation with the city-gmina echelons of the ZSL and SD has been going well. Almost all party members and candidates have been embraced by various forms of party indoctrination.

In the new term, the task of all the elements of the party will be to consolidate the already achieved results and to solve gradually the problems which have accumulated in the operation of the city of almost 25,000, among other things, the alleviation of the housing crunch (more than 4,000 families are on the waiting list to get an apartment), land development of new lots for residential construction, construction of a sewage treatment facility and streamlining of transportation, retail trade and services. Many discussants talked about the significance of the unifying activity of the PRON elements, the struggle against the manifestation of social pathology, the coordination of efforts in the upbringing of youth and also on the attitudes of party members, which should be a model to follow. The necessity to tap persistently the reserves of reducing costs in enterprises was also emphasized. Complex problems must be solved in education and personnel. The forthcoming 650th anniversary of the incorporation of the city was also mentioned at the conference. A special resolution was adopted in the matter, setting 1988 as the anniversary year for Swiecie.

Comrade Jerzy Krzywanski was reelected first secretary of the city-gmina PZPR committee. Comrades Tadeusz Glowacki, Zenon Garczarek, Jan Kaszuba, Andrzej Kaszubowski, Jerzy Krzywanski, Maria Lewandowska, Edward Pantlinowski, Leonard Szulc and Witkor Wachowski were elected delegates to the provincial conference.

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Diligent work must be the basic distinguishing trait of party members. This statement was the focal point of discussion at the PZPR plant reports-elections conference at the Drumet Cable and Wire Plant in Wloclawek. Fifty-six out of 62 assignees of branch organizations took part in the proceedings. Comrade Stefan Skrzynecki, secretary of the PZPR provincial committee in Wloclawek, also was a guest of the conference.

Along with economic problems and the concern for maintaining uninterrupted production, the discussion turned to internal party issues. Comrade Wladyslaw Gapinski spoke, among other things, about membership changes in the Drumet party organization. He said that primarily people with little experience, with short duration of tenure in the party and those who joined the party in the late 1970's did not measure up. The issue of close cooperation between the plant committee and branch organizations also was not overlooked in the party debate. It was stressed that the plant committee should consistently review the minutes of meetings and most of all maintain direct contact with the people. Comrade Zdzislaw Kozinski was again entrusted with the responsibilities of first secretary of the PZPR plant committee in Drumet.

#### Old, New Party Problems

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 5 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by J.S.: "Problems Old and New"]

[Text] A city reports-elections conference in Lidzbark Warminski reiterated old concerns and turned up some new ones. The old ones have been around for decades, the new ones arose in the tempestuous 3-year period. The ending term embraced a difficult and tense time. The city echelon and basic organizations concentrated their efforts on reinforcing unity and closing the ranks of the party, on restoring the position and authority of the party in all communities. As elsewhere, fortuitous people left who did not identify with the party or did not manifest interest in its life. The strength of the city organization dropped by 20 percent. However, there are party organizations which have not lost a single member, for example, in the sphere of education.

Internal party affairs were the first priority in the report given at the conference by the outgoing first secretary of the PZPR city committee, Tadeusz Gwiazda. The judgment was that party organizations have also come back in the course of the reports-echelons campaign and are stepping up their activities in the environment of progressing sociopolitical stabilization. The organizations are active in all communities and enterprises. Training causes major difficulties, but other statutory duties are carried out well.

The city party organization experienced considerable difficulties in implementing the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee due to the bitter political struggle for most of the

term, mainly in the political and ideological sphere. Local organizational and social issues have been handled much better. Cooperation with fraternal political groupings has been going well. The operation of the state administration, retail trade and communal economy has been streamlined efficiently. Everything running counter to social principles of justice has been eliminated. Phenomena capable of causing public discontent have been responded to. The creation of trade unions has run into obstacles.

The report of the outgoing echelon was extensive, detailed and very critical. No difficulties or setbacks were glossed over. Almost 130 delegates to the conference could take account of mistakes made by themselves and others in an atmosphere of sincerity.

Did the conference take advantage of this opportunity? Yes and no. Obligatory presentations made by virtue of the position of the speaker were the most interesting and complete, whereas creative and critical remarks by rank-and-file delegates were lacking. Secretary of the provincial committee Jan Malinowski evaluated the activity of the city organization in Lidzbark by speaking positively in the name of the provincial echelon. This was perhaps premature, because it came before the discussion. It somehow calmed and absolved the audience of shortcomings. Later on, the secretary of the provincial committee approached the proceedings with more criticism.

Chairman of the party control commission Marian Andrzejewski did not spare criticism for the city organization by pointing out all the flagrant manifestations of deviations from the party posture and even cases where social norms have been violated.

Mayor Stanislaw Pakulski in his turn emphasized housing problems of Lidzbark and the operation of education and cultural facilities.

The ZOZ Health Care Team representative Adolf Putkowski also brought up the issue of apartments, ascribing the critical situation of the entire health care system to the housing crunch. However, the conference left this diagnosis without any response and even treated it with reserve.

Next the floor was given to the representative of the Regional Office of Internal Affairs Wlodzimierz Wachuluk. He spoke about the operation of law enforcement agencies. The recent period has been marked by struggle against speculation, misdemeanors committed under the influence of alcohol and counteracting a few cases of drug addiction. He noted with satisfaction a decline in crime among teenagers.

The customary greetings conveyed to the delegates by the ZSL and SD representatives exhausted the official routine aspect of the discussion.

The voice of life itself, of delegates by POP's, was awaited. Only the elder generation came up to the task. Two retired teachers, Helena Cybulska and Anna Oginska, representing the League of Women and the PRON, respectively, took up the issues of upbringing which are so important in our life, such as the role of family and the mother, civil posture and interpersonal relations.



They said that social deviance often derives from indifference, unconcern and the plague of alcoholism. The discussants emphasized the need of promoting patriotic attitudes best described by the slogan "motherland is a great collective duty," especially among young people. Over the ages, we displayed the ability to die for Poland in glory, now we must live for it.

Stanislaw Seweryn, a member of the historical commission, also reviewed the life of the city from the angle of the ending 40 years, recalling the unassailable achievements of our entire motherland, as well as the progress made by the city.

The speech of Central Committee member Zbigniew Huss, an active functionary of the city echelon, was of a yet different nature. First, he gave to the delegates an account of his work in the Central Committee, where he is a member of two commissions (on the economic reform and the rule of law), and in the provincial committee. Then he devoted a sizable part of his speech to the role of POP's in his community, stressing especially the need for aggressive actions and establishing the presence of the party in every enterprise.

And what about the old and new difficulties which I mentioned in the opening? Lidzbark Warminski has been living for years with the feeling of not being appreciated enough as a city. It has been assigned the function of a beautiful landmark and the destination of tourist trips. The economic aspect has been much worse. A gas pipeline branches out to all neighboring localities, but not to Lidzbark. More resourceful Bartoszyce, which has more luck with personalities, every now and then grabs something for itself. Housing construction cannot make a good start because a heating plant is lacking, as well as lots of construction. Even the lack of a hotel hampers tourist development. The industrial base of the city improved only recently due to the branch plants of the Kasprzak Electronic Enterprises from Warsaw and Polfa from Tarchomin.

Lidzbark is a city of many schools and youths. However, in the life of the party the young generation does not make its presence felt. For years I have been coming across the same discussants. The younger generation was not seen at the conference either. There was more talk in the lobby than there was discussion in front of the audience.

Secretary of the provincial committee Jan Malinowski referred to many of these shortcomings in the closing statement. The conference handled the election of the new committee well. However, it failed to consider many internal party issues related to training and ideology. The secretary of the provincial committee also presented to the audience a short evaluation of the economic situation of the province, pointing that it is good in comparison with the country at large. He also took issue with some exaggerated and prejudicial views of our difficulties, for example, of the housing situation, which is blown into gargantuan proportions by inaccurate information and double bookkeeping.

Delegates to the conference elected new leadership without major problems. First, Tadeusz Gwiazda was reelected first secretary of the city committee and then the 32-member city committee, the audit commission, the party control commission and delegates to the provincial conference were elected. The chief of the provincial military headquarters, Col Henryk Swiecicki, was among the elected delegates.

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The statement contained in the title was the supreme thought of the city-gmina reports-elections conference of the PZPR organization in Bisztynek. Head of the political-organizational department of the PZPR provincial committee Henryk Migus and chairman of the WZSR [Provincial Association of Agricultural Cooperatives] Samopomoc Chlopska Marian Bandosz took part in the conference. One hundred and twenty-four delegates represented 402 members and candidates of the PZPR organization of the city, belonging to 30 POP's and OOP's. The conference was opened by a nice feature--the presentation of awards for "Distinguished Service to Warmia and Mazury." Maria Gatarczyk, Zbigniew Karłowicz, Stanisław Jozefowicz, Kazimierz Grygalun, Andrzej Bogusz and Stanisław Olechowski were decorated. Seven persons received candidate cards of the PZPR.

Secretary of the city-gmina committee Jozef Puszekiel made a program report in the name of outgoing committee. In the reporting period, the Bisztynek party organization consistently implemented the program adopted by the Ninth Congress of the PZPR, fostering the reinforcement of the political-organizational unity of basic elements, restoring its authority among work forces and the populace of individual villages, cooperating with the undertakings of the PRON, self-government and trade-unions. During this period, 14 persons joined the ranks of the party.

The delegates and guests listened attentively to the presentation by the city-gmina mayor, Edward Miecznik, on the current social and economic problems of Bisztynek community. On the initiative of party members active in the PRON, next year the construction of a health center will begin, which will improve the conditions of health care for the population of the city and gmina. This statement elicited applause from the audience, because at present the gmina, with a population of 8,357, is served by one doctor and one paramedic. An 18-unit cooperative apartment complex is under construction. Reconstruction and overhaul of the building at Kolejowa and Sienkiewicza Streets is under way. However, rapid completion of the above projects hinges on the supply of materials for finishing. Many new jobs have been created as a result of commissioning the Rema branch plants in Reszel and the LAS enterprise in Olsztyn.

Fifteen delegates took the floor in the discussion. In their statements, they noted the lack of adequate medical care in the city and gmina, the necessity to build a school in Satopy and finally the quality of meat products and bread produced by the local GS [gmina cooperative]. A 27-member PZPR city-gmina committee was elected, of which Jozef Puszekiel again became first secretary. Kazimierz Firlej was elected head of the party control commission,

and Jan Kuberski head of the audit commission. Jozef Puszkiel, Edward Miecznik, Kazimierz Domzalski and Jerzy Kania were named delegates to the provincial conference. The conference adopted an ample program for the next term. The newly elected city-gmina committee especially entitled to do so will work on the final text of the program.

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First secretary of the PZPR city-gmina committee in Reszel, Comrade Stanislaw Sucharski, presented the activity of the party organization in the ending term at a city-gmina reports-elections conference of the Polish United Workers' Party. The activity of the gmina party organization was treated soberly in the report, which pointed out its strength and weaknesses. The basic party organization of the Rz PML [Rema Reszel Enterprises of Machine Building for Forestry], headed by First Secretary Comrade Stanislaw Olszak, was named among the most energetic ones. Member of the executive board of the PZPR provincial committee Jerzy Wronski, vice governor of Olztyn Henryk Baranowski, head of the political-organizational department of the PZPR provincial committee Henryk Migus and director of the regional center of party work in Kietrzyn Zygmunt Kalisz took part in the conference.

Many weighty matters were brought up at the conference, frequently in the format of postulates and recommendations. Mayor of the city and gmina of Reszel Slawomir Liberna reported on the socioeconomic situation of the city and gmina.

The discussion revealed the separability of the socioeconomic issues and those of ideological struggle. Chairman of the ZSMP board of the city and gmina Boguslawa Lemecka analyzed the main aspects of activities of the youth organization. Among other things, the cooperation of the Reszel youth organization with the school board of ZSMP in the WOP [Frontier Guard] Training Center in Kietrzyn merits mentioning.

The director of the largest REMA RzPML industrial enterprise, Ireneusz Gola, reported on the operation of the enterprise. Last year, the plan was fulfilled 100 percent, and this will also be the case this year. He devoted much of his presentation to the social and living conditions of the work force. He also touched upon the issue of housing construction in Reszel. According to preliminary estimates, the construction of a new residential block with about 80 apartments should begin in 1985.

Commandant of the Civic Militia station in Reszel Franciszek Golba reviewed the state of law, order and security in the territory of the city and gmina, emphasizing especially the problems with individuals who are not gainfully employed anywhere.

Antony Sadowski, chairman of the city and gmina people's council, among other things talked about the restoration of the old section of Reszel and the crisis situation with dwellings necessitating the utilization of garrets and attics. Also, the city should be connected to the gas pipeline, and a sewage treatment plant should be built.

Jerzy Wronski presented the evaluation of party activities of the Reszel organization made by the PZPR provincial committee in Olsztyn.

Vice governor Henryk Baranowski took a stand on administrative and economic issues. Among other things, he reviewed the capital requirements of housing and municipal construction in our province. In 1984, the construction of a temporary housing facility will begin in Reszel which, combined with the conversion of attics and garrets and the participation of enterprise funds, can improve the housing situation in the city.

A 23-member city-gmina PZPR committee was elected, from which an 11-member executive board was appointed. Romuald Tarasiewicz, a party member since 1951 and a worker at Rema RzPML for 33 years, first as a turner and for 15 years a foreman in the mechanical shop, became first secretary. The conference also elected a nine-member city-gmina audit commission and a nine-member city-gmina party control commission. A resolution was adopted which enumerated the most important tasks of internal party activities and social-economic work of the city and gmina party organization in the current term.

#### Struggle, Understanding Required by All

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 5 Dec 83 pp 1, 3

[Article: "All of Us Are Duty-Bound To Implement the Line of Struggle and Understanding"]

[Text] Last Saturday and Sunday, reports-elections conferences of local echelons were held in Brody, Nowa Sol, Bytnica, Kolsko, Niegoslawice, Tuplice, Nowe Miasteczko and Maszewo. Action programs for the new term were outlined, new leadership of the echelon and delegates to the provincial party conference were elected.

Primarily, the role and participation of party organizations in solving local social and economic problems were discussed. The need was indicated to be more aggressive in ideological struggle, to improve methods of political agitation and propaganda and to rebuff the demagogic action of anti-socialist centers. It was stressed in the discussions and resolutions of the conference that the party and all its members are duty-bound to implement persistently the program of the Ninth Congress. This program reflects the line of struggle against adversity and enemies of socialism, the line of understanding and cooperation with everyone who regards the good and success of the socialist motherland as a supreme priority.

#### The City-Gmina Conference in Nowa Sol

At present, 3,088 members and candidates belong to the Nowa Sol city-gmina party organization. At the beginning of the term, there were 839 more. About 400 left the party of their own will, the rest were removed from the membership list or ejected from the party by basic organizations themselves. The party lost nothing in the process. This has been confirmed by the



organizations in the course of the reports-elections campaign, and has been confirmed by delegates, 170 of whom took part last Saturday in the Nowa Sol party conference.

The current situation in party activity and the state of the economy of the city and gmina were presented critically and objectively in the materials offered at the conference, in the report of the first secretary of the city-gmina committee, Lech Rauhut, and in the discussion. The resolution of the previous conference has not been implemented and this cannot always be justified by so-called objective difficulties, as the delegates said. The population is complaining. The city-gmina committee alone received 91 complaints and petitions and the organs of city and gmina administration--276. Big investment projects are not a part of the problem. Housing and communal services, trade and provisioning, relations between the employer or offices and the citizen, footdragging by the ZUS [Social Security Agency] in solving the cases of retirees and annuitants is what hurts us most. However, people are again coming to party committees and POP's more and more often. This is proof of a perhaps too slow but persistent restoration of trust and confidence in the party.

Critical remarks at the conference do not mean that the past term was lost for the economy of the city-gmina. For example, this year the city has received about 460 apartments--a result unprecedented in the last decade--2 day care centers and a creche have been commissioned, as well as an addition to the hospital, several stores have been built. A sewage treatment facility and a sedimentation pond are about to be completed. Two large schools and other structures are under construction. In the times of deep crisis, this is quite much.

During the three quarters of this year, industrial enterprises increased sales of their products by about 13 percent and construction units by about 19 percent compared to the same period last year. Labor productivity also grew by 18.5 percent in industry and 20 percent in construction. It is important that the largest enterprises, such as Dozamet, Odra (where a decrease in employment by about 10 percent was registered), LPBP, Junior Metalen, CPN [Refinery Products Corporation], KPRB and others are fulfilling their tasks. Agriculture has exceeded the plan of grain, slaughter cattle and milk procurement. Rural areas have received more means of production. Economic recovery in the city-gmina this year is beyond any doubt. This was confirmed by the representatives of industry, construction and cooperatives in their presentations. They also presented complicated problems and current difficulties, but also concrete suggestions, as did Comrade Ireneusz Mitura, Edward Gura, Wincenty Kochanski, Mieczyslaw Dziuk, Marian Jedrasiak, Zdislaw Musielak, Stanislaw Lewicki, Jan Tluczek, Lt Col Jerzy Semczyszyn, Kazimierz Grodzinski and others. Eighteen party members took part in the discussion.

First secretary of the provincial committee Jerzy Dabrowski said among other things in his speech that the authority of the entire organization depends on the everyday posture of members. Capital investment and high outlays are not always needed; however, good will towards the people always is. Party members should not ignore even the smallest but difficult human matters

or problems of particular communities. A good proprietary version and courageous response to negative phenomena, which are not absent in Nowa Sol, are needed.

The conference elected by secret ballot a 55-member city-gmina committee and 17-member audit and party control commissions. Wladyslaw Miakisz, known in the community for his economic and social activity, was elected first secretary of the city-gmina committee by a majority vote.

The conference adopted an action program of the city-gmina party organization for a 2-year term. The proceedings were adjourned after the singing of the internationale.

Due to their strength, two enterprise organizations in Nowa Sol, at Dozamet and Odra, are entitled to elect delegates to the provincial reports-elections conference directly.

At Dozamet, the following comrades were elected delegates to the provincial conference: Karol Gruber, electrician and Sejm deputy; Jan Kolendowicz, deputy director of ROPP [Regional party work center]; Eugeniusz Liput, first secretary of the plant committee; Franciszek Moskal, brigade leader in the foundry; Walerian Solinski, deputy director for technical affairs, member of the PZPR Central Committee; Kazimier Waskiewicz, chairman of the provincial party control commission.

At Odra, the following were elected delegates to the conference: Lech Adamczak, manager of the spinning plant; Roman Czolhan, secretary of the PZPR provincial committee; Franciszek Majewski, first secretary of the plant committee; Adam Rolicz, chairman of the provincial audit commission of the PZPR; Krystyna Szulecka, retiree.

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## 'MYTH' OF POLITICAL PLURALISM EXAMINED

Warsaw IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA in Polish No 9, Sep 83 pp 99-109

[Article by Mirosław Karwat and Włodzimierz Milanowski: "The Myth of Political Pluralism" under the rubric "Polemics, Discussion"]

[Text] The social awareness of Poles has in recent years been subjected to many destructive processes. First, it was influenced by the illusions of the consumption "horn of plenty" and the supposed advantages of the "opening" to the West. The subsequent economic crisis and propaganda offensive by enemies of socialism reinforced the stereotypes and illusions evolved in the 1970s and strengthened the conviction that miraculous solutions resulting in an improvement in the country's economic situation are possible.

The crisis of the awareness manifested itself--this being obvious--in different forms and differently within different milieux. It has resulted in the popularization and consolidation of seeming explanations of history and politics and prompted many people to turn away from national experience and reach toward the "teachings" of the West, in the complacent conviction that they are neutral and disinterested. This also concerned--maximally during a certain period at that--political solutions, systemic institutions, political views. In many milieux these elements acquired a mythic dimension.

The rise of illusions and myths concerning politics originated not only from the activities of the anti-communist centers. Another cause was the objective phenomena in the sphere of politics: the bureaucratic tendencies in the functioning of the state, the decline in Marxist analysis and evaluation of the social reality as well as in the Marxist criticism of its contradictions, and the formation and consolidation of parochial group interests, individualism, egotism. All this was--as we recall--linked to the propaganda of success: a propaganda according to which the processes occurring in our country were to point to the building of a mature socialist society. Thus there is nothing surprising that the crisis of such a policy (inclusive of propaganda) as well as the economic crisis gave birth to a profound mistrust, engendered elemental explorations of different solutions that would avert a collapse.

The exploration of new elements of political practice and new forms of political thinking has not, however, been occurring in laboratory conditions. On the one hand, their direction and nature was influenced by the ruthless struggle for power waged by the enemies of socialism. Aiming to demolish the state structures and weaken the party, they promoted the spread of the

stereotype of the weakness and inborn faulty nature of socialist systemic solutions. On the other hand, society's thinking of politics was weakened by those who popularized the myth of "Poland's exceptional nature" or even of "Poland's mission" (this time by way of an experiment), of the universal importance of our solutions, etc. Thus this shaped in some people the conviction that socialism is weak in general and that innovative and absolutely unique innovative "health-restoring" tendencies are being conceived in Poland.

The foundations and nature of the myth of pluralism can be understood only in the context of the mechanism of the crisis in social awareness. We are speaking of a myth which has in various forms been shaping the political thinking of Poles in recent years.

Already in the past decade it has been pointed out that, supposedly, optimal conditions for adopting pluralist solutions exist in Poland. This was argued by unjustifiably resorting to analyses of social differentiations and the complex civilizational-cultural identity of the nation, as well as by claims made in favor of the need to consider in social practice the broadest possible range of the opinions, needs and interests of various social groups. Such abuses were committed with respect to the problem of optimizing the operation of the system by way of alternativeness, competition and selection of various forms of action; the alternativeness of the development strategy, political techniques and specific means of action was identified en passant with alternatives to the present system of society, without naming it, however.

The myth of political pluralism has taken deep root in public awareness. According to this myth, political pluralism and the attendant "Western," "free" mechanism of the exercise of power provide the only remedy for all of Poland's troubles. To assuage the perplexity of those favoring socialism, it was claimed that the bourgeois mechanism of the exercise of power will, when grafted onto the socialist society, result in a "better" and "more authentic" socialism that would satisfy all.

The public's ideas on pluralism are based on many assumptions that do not always mesh. Thus, it is naively thought that:

--only competition among many political parties with formally equal electoral and political chances makes possible the expression of all the interests, political attitudes and views existing in the society;

--only the rotation of these parties at the helm of the government--as a result of the verdict of the voters--guarantees the correction of the political course and prevents abuses of power;

--any political position, interest or view has the same chance of winning as any other, and they all have equal rights, while the society chooses what serves it best ("free interplay of forces");

--an immediate transition from one policy to another, from the implementation of some goal to that of others, is feasible;

--only the mechanism of the "free interplay of forces," of competition, makes possible the appearance of the politically most gifted, most suitable



individuals in leading positions, while at the same time preventing the promotion of mediocrities and individuals who ignore the voice of the people;

--political pluralism restores the democratic traditions of the Polish nation (e.g. the glorious traditions of toleration, of a government made strong by the control exercised by the citizens, etc.), and it returns us to the domain of "genuine and pure democracy."

#### Whence Are the Models Taken?

The ideal of pluralism, which is to be a synonym for democracy and a remedy for Poland's difficulties, has of course its embodiment. It is embodied by the Western countries, which supposedly are to serve us as the model and from whose experience we supposedly are to learn. But the model of pluralism, pure and immaculate in its propaganda version, is essentially a 19th-century model. In addition, it has not materialized in the form in which it is presented; it has existed merely in certain liberal doctrines, but had to be immediately revised on being translated into reality. It is precisely starting with the moment when it could be treated literally, i.e. with the moment of the rise of the workers' movement, that it began to be treated more selectively. This is not mentioned nowadays, because the real political system of the Western countries as it exists nowadays does not fit very much the pluralist ideal.

Thus, pluralism is a myth primarily with respect to its "source"--the developed capitalist countries. In the political sphere it has been an effective tool of free-competition capitalism. The differentiation of the interests of discrete groups and sectors of capital was naturally reflected in the differentiation of political parties, in their mutual struggle and competition, in the ceaseless replacement of the governmental teams. It is curious, however, that the models of pluralism have been most fully embodied in the countries with a slower development of capitalism (such as Italy). In the economically most advanced countries (such as the United States) there very rapidly arose a model of "regulated" pluralism, i.e. of pluralism confined to only certain groupings of capital. In other words, the domination of the political and administrative machinery by the most powerful groups of monopoly capital has resulted in an obvious confining of the possibilities for a choice to the framework of the class reign of that capital.

First, this has led to curtailing the real right to participate in the political struggle, in the so-called free interplay of forces. Weaker groupings can, to be sure, exist and "try to flex their muscles," but they cannot play any real role in the system of political decisionmaking. This means that the political system of capitalism respects fully only the interests of the mightiest who concentrate capital in their hands, monopolize the information and propaganda media, and promote and subordinate to themselves the ruling elites.

Secondly, the only possibility for a real, uncontrolled political struggle is the struggle for position in the political machinery of the parties permitted to take part in real political decisionmaking. The ruthless struggle for power (which also best reflects the American system of party and trade-union bosses as well as lobbies) is concealed to the average citizen. Influential politicians depend on the voters (and to a minimal degree at that, owing to the propaganda-election campaign) before but not after the elections. Thus the

seeming existence of pluralism is combined with political cynicism and amorality, the depravation of the entire sphere of politics. The speeches and promises are made from premises which are not followed.

The contemporary development of the capitalist political system is determined by many factors. These factors include the emancipative strivings and efforts of the working class and other groups of working people, the worldwide struggle between imperialism and the socialist system and the growth of the scientific and technological revolution. Generally, however, the contemporary highly developed capitalist countries emulate a growing number of features of the Anglo-American system and increasingly demonstrate the sham of their pluralism and the limitations of bourgeois democracy. The political predominance and might concentrated in big capital is expressed less ceremoniously. Its interests not only remain ultimate and inviolable but also sometimes become the determinant of the solutions and ideas proposed to the society--also in the case of parties which had initially been critically disposed toward capitalism. A paradoxical manifestation of this is that the democratic anti-monopoly movement, the movement in the defense of "classical" pluralism, has to transcend its mechanism.

Let us assume that we accept seriously the main idea of the pluralist doctrine--the idea of the representation and free interplay of the forces of all the social interests. For this means that the governing system of the society includes representatives of all its essential interests and--as can be indirectly concluded--the decisive influence belongs to representatives of the most common views and wishes. Besides, this is the version in which pluralism has been propagated in our country (e.g. in the comments of Stefan Bartkowski who propagated in a demagogic interpretation the idea of "vox populi--vox dei," or in the loud campaign concerning the so-called socialization of television). The assumption of the importance and crucial significance of the most commonly shared interests (or rather of the views and opinions in public currency) is besides the sole real argument in favor of choosing the pluralist model. Let us additionally assume (as desired by the proponents of "pure pluralism") that there is no essential difference between the commonality and the relatively stronger articulation of certain views and collective suggestibility.

However, a deeper analysis shatters this assumption. For it turns out that either a majority of the society has views that are identical with those of big capital and change in accordance with the changes in the views of the representatives of that capital or, too, the uncommon nature of some position or view is decisive to its influence on the machinery of rule. It happens not infrequently in this connection that the society's choice of an optimal policy in the interests of capital is decided by anti-capitalist phraseology. The support of voters can be gained contrary to the position, convictions and interests of the voters themselves. Ultimately it is possible (as is happening in the United States) to eliminate alienated and contesting social groups from positions of real influence and virtually exclude them from the scope of action of the so-called democratic mechanisms.

In this place an important digression suggests itself. Pluralism in its Western edition is the right to choose among several or many variants of policies in the interest of big capital, the right to choose the best (at least as subjectively evaluated) way of strengthening the capitalist system.

Our native standard-bearers of pluralism proclaim its essence to be the right to choose between capitalism and socialism, or the right to choose the imaginary prospect of "neither capitalism nor socialism." They are not too faithful to the original which they want to imitate. But it would cause no harm to recommend to Poles that they imitate the West in solutions which the West has neither ever tried to translate into reality nor even could imagine.

We sum up this part of our reflections. In most capitalist countries we are not dealing with real pluralism, because their political systems lack a real possibility for reflecting, popularizing and protecting (let alone imposing) interests inconsonant with the interests of big capital. Thus, pluralism is an institution of the capitalist superstructure serving the optimization of the bourgeois political and ideological rule and assuring the effectiveness of the mechanism of the exercise of power by assuring its formal and largely seeming support by the society. In reality, pluralism camouflages the course of political processes. Elements of real pluralization occur only in those countries in which the worker movement has gained strength, in which parties representing the interests of the working class have become a real political and ideological force. It is only in these countries that society has a real chance for a choice among different political roads and solutions. As known, however, in the event that this chance materializes, the entire political system reacts, as does the entire superstructure. They are neither prepared for nor capable of swallowing the real alternative. The Chilean example--the most drastic and essentially pure--demonstrates the ultimate limits of "pluralism." But even the "milder" examples of Italy, Spain, Portugal and France are significant, demonstrating that one more final authority keeps watch over the voters and the machinery of "replacement" [of governments].

Perhaps then it may be that--as some believe--pluralism is "bad" in a capitalist society, which is a class society, and strengthens capital in that society, but it can be "good" and useful in our society, which is classless? Once there are no classes, there remains only the relationship between "the authorities and the society," and in order that the authorities may not abuse their power, they have to be "pluralized," socialized so that the entire society would co-govern. There seems to be nothing negative about such expectations. Why then does the party oppose it?

In the reasoning--apart from the versions in currency--cited above, practically every sentence harbors a fallacy. First, our society is not yet classless; as demonstrated by the course of social processes, it exists in the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism. Secondly, in this case the nature of politics in our society would be not some dispute between "the authorities and the society," but a struggle over who, how and in whose interest, in whose behalf, would exercise power, over which class would reign. Thirdly, in such a situation the mechanism of political pluralism would be "classless" neither in its form nor in its consequences. The experience of our renewal, which will be discussed shortly, clearly demonstrates that pluralism as a political mechanism remains a bourgeois, capitalistic method of conducting politics. Hence, "pluralization" would mean nothing else than the restoration of capitalist relations, irrespective of any intentions, promises or reservations contained in paragraphs and agreements.

## "Popularization"--a Peaceful Dismantling of Socialism

The myth of pluralism, advocated in Polish renewal to this very day, is being propagated not disinterestedly but for definite political purposes. It is a tool of political struggle, a tool which serves at the same time to combat real renewal, to oppose the reconstruction of the class and socialist nature of our political system, to oppose the development of socialist democracy--as a democracy and as a socialist democracy. At the same time, it serves to camouflage that struggle.

The assumptions underlying that struggle in the ideological-propaganda plane are fairly obvious. Society is being imbued with the view that democracy (of course, non-adjectival, because any adjective is a constraint on genuine and pure democracy) is tantamount to pluralism (also non-adjectival), and correspondingly, that democratization of the system means its "pluralization."

In the attempts to justify this reasoning, the following arguments are made: The fundamental (and perhaps sole) political division in our society is the division between "them" and "us." "They," (i.e. the authorities, the party, the government--identified with a privileged alien oligarchy) have seized power illegally and are thus exercising it against the will of the Polish people. The postulate of pluralism thus reduces to the demand for letting the heretofore deprived groups and strata, termed tersely and suggestively "the society," exercise power. The society consists of all those who are not the authorities or, more accurately, who do not want to deal with the authorities in its behalf. To put it briefly, the postulate of pluralism is the demand for a division of power, and that not only among allies (because such an already existing division is ignored) but among adversaries so that they would rule jointly, supposedly for the common good.

The aim of a thus conceived pluralism is simply to deprive the authorities of their power, and to do so in a "democratic" and evolutionary manner. So long as the communist party cannot (and, for that matter, need not) be deprived of power by force, this has to be done "peacefully," i.e. in practice, by combining deceit with pressure and moral-psychological coercion. That psychological coercion consists in flattering the public opinion, exploiting the crisis to impose an elemental, avalanche-like but manipulated apparent democracy, blackmailing the party by the state of the public mood and especially by means of its obligation to "make itself credible," that is, to subordinate its every activity to previously inflated and manipulated attitudes of the society. In the last stage (which was halted), it would already have been possible to resort to--without any dissimulation--crowning the matter with naked force.

According to the criteria of such renewers, the criterion of "reformability" is unequivocal: it is the extent of the "pluralization." Consequently, the only legal authorities are those which are pluralist, that is those which relinquish the principal attribute of power--sole decisionmaking and enforcement. Social control as a real condition for democracy is glossed over (because the pluralists, future rulers, are not concerned about it), and instead the demand is put forward that the authorities should make explanations to enemies and voluntarily confer on them the status of representatives of the society. Hence is inferred the conclusion that nonpluralistic authorities, i.e. authorities which are not accepted by all, are illegal authorities. This view implies yet another, completely unrealistic conviction of the possibility of authorities representing "everyone"--listening to



all, subordinating themselves to all, and satisfying all. Such a conviction clearly combines solidarism with ordinary naivete. Its function is to obliterate the class nature of any authorities and undermine the legality of these particular authorities. Let us thus repeat once more: in the light of the concept of the advocates of our Polish pluralism, the only "credible" and "democratic" authorities are those that voluntarily relinquish their power.

In the doctrine and activity of the opposition groupings pluralism has not been the goal (contrary to what many of our compatriots still believe) but at most a banner for rallying "everyone" round it and a picklock for getting access to power.

First, it was to strengthen the awareness of the innate flawed nature, fallacy and harmfulness of socialist socio-economic and political solutions, awaken delusions about the effectiveness of systemic solutions imported from the West and their applicability to our Polish conditions. It was to give birth to the conviction, owing to the very fact of its rejection by the party, that there is something desirable and interesting to it. It was, finally, to produce the impression that behind the nihilist, total negation of the socialist reality there lies a real, specific and constructive alternative. The term-picklock "pluralism" relieved of the necessity to explain what the future systemic alternative would be like, because anything that is anti-communist was to be potentially just and valid.

Secondly, pluralism was to be and became a handy tool for direct political struggle. It was to compel including the representatives of the anti-socialist forces in the machinery of power, while at the same time neutralizing the opponents of these forces. For demagogic accusations were made to the effect that he who is against pluralism is against democracy as well.

The political functions of the slogan "pluralization" are even more obvious once the real and particular consequences of seemingly abstract and "impractical" slogans are pointed out.

1. Pluralism presumes equal political rights for different views and ideologies. This signifies questioning the ideological superstructure of socialism, undermining the ideological rule of the working class. For then both worker, plebeian ideologies and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies, internationalist and nationalist tendencies, secular and religious tendencies, etc. all would have equal chances for propagation and influence. Thus, real socialism is to be unreal in its ideological superstructure when defined by compromise or rather by capitulation. As a consequence, such pluralism (which its proponents justify by referring to the evident fact of the differing views existing in the society) would eliminate the possibility of pursuing a cohesive policy--cohesive in the sense of its social content and consistency, but not necessarily cohesive in forms and methods. How long can last a political system whose premises are not explicit or coherent, or which are continually discussed?

2. Pluralism presumes equal rights of political representation for different social classes and strata. In practice this means equating the interests of the working class, of peasants-cooperative members, of peasants owning their farms and living off their own work, of peasants who employ hired laborers, of petty capitalists, etc. By the same token, this means that the permanent preferences in economic and social policies are being questioned, as is the political hegemony of the working class. Accord among the various classes and strata is interpreted not in categories of class alliances based on the explicit conditions of domination, cooperation and compromise, but in categories of "bargaining," bid-making, that each time is decided differently by the changing alignment of forces. As known, the stronger parties in political bargaining are, by nature, those social groups which engage in bargaining in the economic sphere--the small-businessman and petty-capitalist groups as well as the managerial-technocratic groups. To put it briefly, pluralism directly undermines the machinery of political rule by the working class, the system of dictatorship of the proletariat. It is aimed against the worker-peasant alliance and the possibility of societal control over political institutions.

3. Eliminating the political superstructure of real socialism opens the road to "pluralism" in the economy, that is, to the development and expansion of capitalist forms of management. For then occurs a transition from the socialist doctrine and practice of the co-existence and complementariness of different sectors of the economy, different types and forms of ownership, to the elimination of the real mechanisms of socialization, namely: planning and centralized guidance of the economy, and societal control. In "free competition" (if this can be believed), public ownership not only lacks any chances but simply ceases to be. For public ownership in the economy can exist only as a general social system. Thus pluralism would--if it were to be permitted in practice--eliminate the economic basis of socialism.

The elimination of the political mechanisms of the people's rule and of the equalization of socio-economic inequalities and the economic domination of the petty-tradesman, petty-capitalist and state-monopoly economy determines who would have good odds for surviving in the political game. The working class and the working people as a whole can retain a vital influence only on condition of the real functioning and domination of public ownership in the economy. And conversely, real people's rule is the guarantee of public ownership. Pluralism dismantles both. The direct political effects of "pluralization" manifest themselves most clearly in the liquidation of the basic premises for the organized political reign of the working class.

4. Another effect of the "pluralization" is the rise of social, economic, ideological and political divisions within the working class, which by the same token ceases to exist as a class for itself, as a subject (and of a certainty as the subject of class rule). In socio-economic terms this means disintegration in the form of occupational, branch, regional and other kinds of parochialism as well as internal destratification as regards living standards, and even increased privileges for some groups at the expense of others. In ideological terms, this means an unexpected broadening of the

circle of the "defenders of workers" about whom nowadays the Christian Democrats, liberals, agrarianists, and whoever else, are concerned. In political terms, "pluralization" means first undermining and then eliminating the leading role of the communist party along with the attendant disintegration of the entire worker movement--opposing the party to the trade unions, worker self-governments, etc. It is the dream of the pluralists that there should exist several competing worker parties (e.g. communists, socialists, social democrats, anarcho-syndicalists, nationalists, etc.) whose disputes could be benevolently resolved by yet another, more "universal" and "classless" authority.

In sum--exploiting the weakening and crisis of the party as well as the disruption of bonds between the party and the working class, suggesting well-meaning ideas for "improving" the party, replacing it with another or splitting it--"pluralist" orientations consistently eliminate the organized political reign of the working class in general.

5. By leveling the political role of the working class and privileging non-proletarian groups in the economy, pluralism also changes qualitatively the political status of the intelligentsia, i.e. of that part of it which has so far functioned to serve and represent the working people. Pluralism confers independence on politicians, ideologists, etc., transforms them from the reflectors and executors of the will of the working people into autonomous "mediators" and even players and arbiters independent of their original constituencies.

6. Pluralism is a kind of narcotic for the masses. It serves to overshadow and even replace substance with form. It serves to sanction an oligarchic, elitist, anti-democratic manner of governing in the interest of a minority under the appearances of a "majority" (whether silent or preparing ovations, it does not matter) by means of a flashily won free mandate which essentially does not obligate it in any way. An example of such a free mandate is the behavior of many Solidarity leaders who first conjured the voters and later deceived and ignored them, and in the end even kept tight reigns on them.

The real worth of the slogans of "pluralism" as implemented by its most fanatical advocates was demonstrated by the practice of varied domestic opposition groupings. And perhaps the best testimony was provided by the power struggle within Solidarity, which commenced its activities as a organization with a pluralist orientation but was en route--and this was no accident--purged of all those who were not sufficiently fervent in their anti-communism (this refers, of course, to individuals holding top posts and working in the apparat).

7. "Pluralism" as interpreted by anti-communists does not refer--because how could it?--to communists or even to their allies or sympathizers. For the anti-communism of these "pluralists" is not pluralist but maximally uniform and totalitarian. Pluralism in the anti-communist camp is real insofar as it means the right and duty of attacking communists from the most varied (even if mutually conflicting) points of view, insofar as hate of a single movement unites even parties that are opposed to each other.

## 'SORDID,' 'NATURALISTIC' IMAGES IN FILMS DEPLORED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Dec 83 p 4

[Article by Natalia Stancu]

[Text] The period which followed the 9th party congress, which was decisive in the flourishing of social-economic life, in the development of socialist democracy, in affirmation of independence and dignity and in raising our country's international prestige, at the same time marked important points in the flourishing of Romanian culture through promotion of the great values of national spirituality, through the appearance of new and probing creation for the vitality and amplification of the creative spirit. The fact is also clear for movies as well as cinematography. In such a generous and stimulating framework created by the national "Song of Romania" festival, the movie club and circle for familiarization with the evolution of the seventh art and its top achievements have become national passions.

Movie production has reached an unprecedented scope. The names of creators from various generations have appeared in the credits. They have persevered in the three basic directions (artistic, documentary and animation) and a diversification of types has been produced in order to satisfy certain categories of age, taste and the most varied cultural levels (from drama to comedy, from satire to farce, from musicals to the films with ethical and political discussions, which have become the favorite). But, as we have seen, film creation is not sufficiently answering the need for movies to mirror the times and to be a mobilizer of awareness.

"We need good, revolutionary movies which preserve the grand achievements of our people, which mobilize and present heroes who are a model of work and life," the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, pointed out in his speech in Mangalia. But a clear examination of recent production shows that in preceding years the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, the Romania-Film Central and the movie houses have not firmly sought to provide a high content of ideas, to eloquently present the broad achievements obtained in the years of socialism and it also shows that for these reasons the movies have not had the desired effectiveness in educating the broad masses and the young generation. A large number of movies are alike (when they are not like certain foreign films, proving a strange submission to "outlines" and even "patterns" and the lack of direct contact with life and its impressive realities through an intense, lively observation and true human vibration.



There is a considerable gap between the effervescence of socialist construction, the economic, political and social changes, the evolutions and even changes in mentality and the film world. The basic subjects and most acute problems are not being echoed properly.

We are thinking of the effort, self-sacrifice in work and heroism of creation on Romania's big job sites and the exemplary figures of workers who are acting selflessly to inspire a revolutionary attitude, to improve social relations and move to a new quality of work and life. We are thinking of the realities of the village in full evolution, the efforts to raise the material and spiritual civilization in the rural areas as well as the energies set in motion by the national program for agricultural development (realities which are in total disagreement with several aspects which are as fixed as they are outdated which are of a boring recurrence from the few films on these subjects). We are thinking of the stimulating presence of those working in the area of science and culture and intellectuals in general. We are thinking of the climate connected with the efforts to amplify and extend the framework of socialist democracy and bring its practice to fruition.

Sometimes the gap we were talking of even takes on the form of a discrepancy. Many films determine so little (proving an elementary understanding of the behaviorist type of art), they lack the vertical of a viewpoint on life and particularly an effective commitment to mobilize courage, man's energy and his effort to change the world through ideas and its emotional vibration.

Even naturalistic images appear in the name of realism; even peripheral environments, ashly and sordid surroundings appear in the name of dramatism of the atmosphere. In a country where you discover how much the villages and cities have progressed wherever you look and you see what important urban and municipal achievements have been made, in a country where millions of families have moved into new, comfortable homes, here we see films whose "settings" are the corner of the sad "museum" of the misery of another time. It is strange that the residues, the sordid and the promiscuity of the slums of another time sometimes attract more than the achievements of civilization. Films appear with false clenches and false problems in the name of the need for tension. The images of reality are deformed in the name of the refusal of *edulcorarii* [word unknown] (in black, oppressive). Other times we see trends toward the absence of references to time or inclinations toward abstraction of negative cases (even if they are credible or real, they still are the exceptions), parallel with the trend toward extrapolating them to a broader social scale. It is hard to treat more general situations which are all the more important through marginal circumstances. No matter how much faith I would have in the aesthetic value of the "limited situation," we cannot help but observe like an oddity the number of "heroes" who have tangled with the law, whose existence for a time has got out of the normal groove. Categorically, movie art (as that of the theater) lives on the fructification of conflicts. But the conflicts like the ones mentioned only express the inability to understand the real substrata and the meaning of the tensions of life and the struggle between old and new and the line of progress.

"Let us powerfully bring out the superiority of our system on the basis of facts, of material and spiritual realities, let us arm all the people with the new

concept of life, of behavior at work and in society, with a revolutionary concept in the activity of raising our country to a new, higher step of development." The stimulus by the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu," at the Mangalia meeting requires deeper reflection and, in particular, a commensurate answer.

The same speech dwells on the heroes, on the need for them to be true representatives as an even more direct and effective contribution to guiding artistic creation; and it also dwells on the role they have in sending out and echoing the educational message of the work. "The people, where the youth have an important role, and the workers are the ones who have achieved everything we have obtained in the country's socialist development. They are the ones who must have their place in movies, in the theater, in poetry, art, literature, painting and all areas of artistic creation! We have to present them."

It is not possible to present heroes with a force of example in a bookish way or through fleeting sketches of poor characters with insufficient human qualities. "We need an art, cinematography, a theater which present the nature, the model of the man whom we must create," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the party's secretary general, stated clearly. Naturally, such heroes must be sought in particular among the communists and party activists, who have been among the foremost bearers of social-political, material and spiritual progress. The role of the party and the party organizations must be brought out more strikingly, in accordance with the facts.

A national cinematography, an art at the level of the demands of our era and of our great and decisive commitments and ideals, can only be achieved through a more powerful stimulating of the creative factors, through more careful joining of all factors and competencies. All those contributing to making a movie are obligated not to lose sight of the fact for one moment that the supreme value of any act of culture is given by the degree to which it contributes to the people's communist education, to cultivating faith in man and stimulating his revolutionary energies.

In this regard an important role belongs to the Council for Socialist Culture and Education and the movie houses. These forums--from the power of what they take in and the decision-making power they hold--are obligated to watch over the quality and balance of the plan and national film production with much greater responsibility.

It is proper to point out in this regard that the measures taken recently, particularly after the Mangalia meeting, place movie production on solid bases, adequately leading the supply and initiative of the creators.

Strict criteria have been established for promoting and accepting scripts. Films are being made and will be made on the basis of a true program judiciously worked out with a feeling of responsibility and perspective. This program clearly expresses the awareness of the cinematography's obligations toward the national culture and toward the ideal of shaping a new man.

An analysis of the movies produced from 1949 up until today (a welcome preliminary step) clearly has brought out the problem subject areas, the dimensions

of the modern man insufficiently reflected in film. Naturally, action has been taken for the necessary balance as shown by the production plan for 1984 and the draft for 1985-1986. There has been a priority emphasis on the proposals coming to meet the ideological, political and educational goals sought. Script competitions have been organized, with the works given awards entering or about to enter into production.

So completion of the national film epic is planned with new and valuable films devoted to certain decisive personalities and moments in our national fate. These will be the creations dedicated to Mircea the Old, Horia, Avram Iancu, Nicolae Iorga or events closer to our times, connected with the Romanian Army's participation in the anti-Hitlerist war and the act of 23 August 1944, as well as films based on the role of the communist party in the history and progress of Romania from its establishment until today.

Great attention has been given and continues to be given to films depicting current situations, to films treating the worker problems and concerns connected with the new agrarian revolution.

Proceeding from the special audience for movies among the young generation, there has been an increase in the number of films dedicated to the world of children, adolescents, pupils, young peasant workers and intellectuals. (Now in the works are "June Cherry" as well as "Greetings from Agigea," a film whose action takes place on the work site of the Danube canal-Black Sea).

A more exacting perspective also has been formed in the area of filming, with interest primarily being shown in the well-known values of the national literature and the maximum audience for it. In coming years we shall see films based on the works of Cezar Petrescu, Panait Istrati, G. Ibraileanu or the novels of Marin Preda, Constantin Chirita, Radu Tudoran and so forth.

The quality of the scripts continues to be basic for validating these mature and substantial conditions for the plan of activity assumed by film making. The call made to the dedicated scriptwriters and prestigious writers has been given a welcome transfusion of "youth." We are trying to attract to movies the young good writers until now exercised in reporting, prose, journalism. Broad, profound, solid documentation and a knowledge of life and modern realities remain a decisive key for the value of movies.

Let us hope that all these steps will benefit from artistic achievements at the level of demands.

Clearly, the social order cannot be carried out without commensurate answers from the cameramen, the scenographers, actors but primarily the script writers and directors. In many cases greater artistic exactingness is required. In others the professional behavior must be doubled by a more manifest political and revolutionary awareness. In particular we are thinking of the need for the artistic virtues, tested by the younger generation of filmmakers, to meet the great and significant concerns and search of the current time. It would be desirable for their efforts to end in the shaping of representative types of heroes, true people and, at the same time, stirring models.

A contribution to stimulating such progress (I would say a contribution of substance but also of high quality, since it is question of enriching and influencing the creators' awareness at this time) belongs to the climate of debate and to the actions which are to be taken at the level of the creative unions. The Association of Cinematographers and also the Union of Writers can contribute to a more energetic and regular meeting between artistic personalities and great subject-educational directions, between the creators and exemplary heroes of life. Announced meetings with directors and producers and planned discussion circles, actions aimed at a profound knowledge of life and work and, in the end, the contests launched will be able to give new impetus to stressing the emotional dimension, the influential force of films, joining artistic conduct with access ability and a powerfully national echo.

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